Daily Report

East Europe

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16 February 1989

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Karpati, Pacsek Leave for Pact Talks in Moscow

LD1402132489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] The Hungarian defense minister and the chief of staff of the People's Army have left for Moscow. Colonel General Ferenc Karpati and Lieutenant General Jozsef Pacsek are to take part in the working discussion of the Warsaw Pact defense ministers and chiefs of staff.

Delegation Returns Home

LD1602045689 Budapest MTI in English 2216 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, February 15 (MTI)—The ministers of defence and chiefs of staff of the Warsaw Treaty member states held a working consultation in Moscow on February 15. The consultation was attended by the commander in chief and the chief of staff of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states. The participants discussed practical issues related to the implementation of unilateral reductions in the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty, and the Soviet troops stationed on the territory of Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia. They surveyed topical tasks related to the defence-oriented reorganization of the allied armies, and the activity of the joint armed forces. The meeting took place in a businesslike atmosphere, in the spirit of mutual understanding.

Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, Hungarian minister of defence, and Lieutenant General Jozsef Pacsek, chief of staff of the Hungarian Peoples Army, returned to Hungary in the evening.

Pact Representatives Discuss CSCE Results

LD1402202189 Warsaw PAP in English 1901 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 14—Representatives of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty held here on Feb. 13-14 consultations on results of the Vienna CSCE meeting and implementation of its decisions.

The participants emphasized the importance of the CSCE process and the particular weight of the decisions to start negotiations on conventional arms in Europe and continue negotiations on security and confidence building measures, which open up a possibility to call a considerable number of all-European meetings on issues crucial for this continent.

Participants in the consultations met with Foreign Vice-Minister Boleslaw Kulski.

European Security, Cooperation Committees Meet

AU0202202689 Sofia BTA in English 1930 GMT 2 Feb 89

["Assertion Sought for Vienna Positive Results"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 2 (BTA)—The Committees for European Security and Cooperation of Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, the Soviet Union, Hungary and Czechoslovakia held a two-day consultative meeting here.

"We coordinated our action this year," said Mr Boris Tsvetkov, chairman of the Bulgarian National Committee for European Security and Cooperation. "The success of Vienna lived up to the expectations of the public in the old continent. Now we have a sound basis for action in furthering peace and understanding. In turn, we will activate and focus our efforts on the maintenance of dialogue among all strata, on the fruitful progress of the meetings and forums listed in the Vienna concluding document. This is precisely where our movement has a large scope of action. We believe that the parallel forums, meetings, seminars and symposia in the countries and the cities hosting the governmental conferences due to be held under the Vienna accords are a very successful and efficient form of work."

CEMA Engineering Committee Ends Session

AU1502115389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Feb 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] A session of the Bureau of the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in Engineering ended in Brno on Thursday [9 February]. The session discussed the implementation of tasks and prepared the documentation for the CEMA committee meeting, which will begin in Prague on 21 March. The participants in the session proposed measures aimed at improving work in engineering. They assessed the introduction of advanced technologies and proposed apportioning their implementation among the organizations of the member countries.

Malile Returns From 'Fruitful' Visit to Turkey

AU0702091289 Tirana ATA in English
0735 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Tirana, February 7 (ATA)—The minister for foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Reiz Malile, who at the invitation of the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey, Mesut Yilmaz, paid an official and friendly visit to Turkey, returned home on February 6.

At the airport he was received by the minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Farudin Hoxha, and the deputy minister for foreign affairs, Sokrat Plaka.

Present was also the interim charge d'affaires of the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana, Mehmet Donmez.

At the airport, the foreign minister, Reiz Malile, granted an interview to the press delegation, in which he stressed among others:

In Turkey we were received wholeheartedly just like the relations between our two countries are. Everywhere we were warmly received by the authorities, various persons down to the people. The talks we held with the Turkish foreign minister, Mesut Yilmaz, were very fruitful. We spoke on the further promotion of the friendly relations between Albania and Turkey.

In particular, we dwelt on the Balkan questions, we spoke on the Balkan cooperation and understanding. As it is known, the recent meeting of the deputy ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan countries decided that the other meeting of the ministers for foreign affairs of our peninsula be held in Albania the coming year. Opinions were exchanged also on this meeting. The desire of both parties is to push ahead the process of the Balkan cooperation, to overcome the existing difficulties and create conditions that this cooperation be even more fruitful, to the benefit not only of the peoples of the Balkans, but also of the other peoples and countries.

Likewise, he said, we spoke of the problems of the Mediterranean, Europe, Middle East, the just cause of the Palestinian people, etc. In general we had proximate opinions. The most important thing is that Albania and Turkey are interested in the questions to strengthen peace and security.

We had the pleasure, Reiz Malile said further on, to be received by the President Evren and the Premier Ozal, who voiced the highest respect for our people and leadership, the glorious road pursued by our party and people, the Albanian reality and our fully independent policy. We noticed with satisfaction that the Albanians residing there are a very important factor in the development of the friendly relations between the two countries. All the personalities we met spoke with great respect for them. This is a legitimate satisfaction for us that they live in fraternity with the Turkish people. I may, convincingly, say that the visit was a full success.

Cami Chairs Foreign Affairs Commission Meeting

AU1402195789 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] The Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly met today under the chairmanship of Foto Cami. The meeting was also attended by Xhafer Spahiu, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and other invitees. The commission listened to Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs, and Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs, who informed the commission about our country's latest international activities. The commission was informed about our delegation's work at the Paris conference on the banning of chemical weapons, held on 7-11 January; about the talks and meetings that the foreign minister conducted during his stay in Paris with the foreign ministers of a number of countries; about the results of the meeting of the deputy foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, held in Tirana; about the friendly visit of our foreign minister to Turkey; and about our country's relations with other countries.

The discussion that followed the reports and information presented to the commission stressed the will and desire of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the development and extension of international cooperation, particularly with the Balkan countries. The commission assessed Reiz Malile's visit to Turkey as having been completely successful and a further step in the direction of the development of friendly relations between our two peoples and countries.

The commission listened with particular attention to the information about the constructive spirit that characterized the proceedings of the meeting of the deputy foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, which, through its discussions, exchange of opinions, and its final protocol, showed that a positive process has been initiated in the Balkans, and this must be further promoted and consolidated through joint efforts. The commission expressed its conviction that the next meeting of Balkan foreign ministers, which will be held in Tirana in 1990, will make an even more positive contribution in the Balkans, and beyond.

The strengthening of friendship and sincere cooperation with all the neighboring countries, without exception, and the growth of the spirit of trust and understanding among them, as was stressed at the commission's meeting, represent one of the basic orientations of the foreign policy of Socialist Albania. The commission pointed out that Albania would also like to establish such relations with neighboring Yugoslavia. Respect for the national and democratic rights of the Albanians in Kosovo, Montenegro, and Macedonia would constitute a sound

base for the good and sincere neighborliness that would serve the lofty interests of both countries, their freedom and independence, and the cause of peace and security in the Balkans.

In connection with the conference on the banning of chemical weapons, the commission pointed out that its proceedings made a valuable contribution to the efforts to ban the use, production, and accumulation of such weapons.

Ministries Report Organizational Initiatives

AU1502183789 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 Feb 89 p 1

[Report by Halil Osmani, secretary of the AWP Bureau at the Ministry of Industry and Mines, and Hysen Canko, secretary of the AWP basic organization at the Ministry of Energy: "Initiatives and Organizational Changes Require Support Through Actions"]

[Text] **The decisions of the Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum confront us with numerous tasks. Work and creativity is therefore required everywhere by everyone; more accountability and economic thinking is required from workers, cooperative members, specialists, and cadres; greater discipline, mobilization, and control at work is required. It is the duty of the AWP organizations to deepen the initiatives and to support organizational changes through actions in order to increase everyone's sense of responsibility and to achieve new victories and successes in this jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation.**

The Ministry of Industry and Mines and the Ministry of Energy announce: In Order to Have a More Dynamic and Operational Apparatus:

In the spirit of the decisions and tasks raised by the Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum and Comrade Ramiz Alia's very valuable instructions at the meeting with the cadres in Lushnje, the AWP basic organizations at the Ministry of Industry and Mines and at the Ministry of Energy, discussed the decisions with a lofty sense of responsibility, made suggestions which were approved by the respective departments, and adopted concrete decisions. The discussions were based on the idea that the tasks of the Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum also apply to all branches of industry, the mines, and the energy sector. The Communists and working people presented valuable ideas for further improving all aspects of the work in the departments concerned. Particular stress was placed on increasing the sense of responsibility and independent action on the part of the directorates and their specialists. In this context, the unification of some existing directorates was judged to be appropriate, due to the similarity of the problems and sectors that they cover, in order to achieve better coordination and more dynamic solutions of the tasks within the respective departments. Thus, for example, the geological and mining sectors have frequently made demands upon each other and have also blamed each other in the case of nonfulfillment of tasks. A considerable number of problems concerning these two directorates used to be passed on unsolved to the deputy ministers or even the minister himself. Their unification now makes it possible for such problems to be discussed and resolved within the directorate and by the director himself. Arguing the question in this manner, a decision was also adopted to unify some other directorates, and thus lighten the apparatus.

The reduction in the number of directorates and the appointment of capable and experienced cadres to head them, as was stated at the meeting, creates possibilities for the more competent and dynamic coordination of problems and solutions. In addition, proceeding from the need to eliminate intermediary links, to increase the sense of concrete responsibility of the directorates and of the directors themselves, and in order to make the apparatus function more of its own accord, as the party instructs us, a decision was made that the deputy ministers of the two ministries should head the primary directorates of the ministries themselves, or should be transferred, according to need, to head major sectors at the base.

The comrades placed in charge of new tasks at the Ministry of Industry and Mines and the Ministry of Energy, as well as outside the ministries themselves, pledged that they will use all their energies to raise the level of management and organization in their new tasks.

In their discussions, the Communists stressed that the structural improvements and elimination of superfluous links are of considerable importance, but are not everything. The important thing is to also radically improve the entire method of work in the struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy, routine, indifference, and procrastination consolidating party and state control. This is imperative in order to make possible, through the operational spirit and actions, the fulfilment of plans in the oil, chrome, and metallurgical sectors, as well as the tasks arising from the Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum. This includes the extraction of natural gas for the needs of the chemical industry, fuels for agricultural machinery, equipment, greenhouses, and other agricultural buildings; the accelerated construction of the urea plant, the production of steel and copper wires for the engineering industry, and so forth. Six hundred tonnes of nitrate ammonium and 500 tonnes of superphosphates will be supplied over and above the plan during the first quarter.

Bearing in mind that the fulfillment of these tasks requires rapid action, the personnel in the ministry apparatuses is going directly to the base to resolve the problems immediately. The meetings of the AWP basic organizations and of the collectives concerned approved the aforementioned measures unanimously and reflected their optimism and readiness attain the objectives of the jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation.

Most Severe Winter Drought in '40 Years'

AU1502174489 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 12 Feb 89 p 1

[Article by Sirri Jaho, from the Meteorological Institute: "In Our Country: The Driest Winter in the Past 40 Years"]

[Text] The period from December 1985 to February 1989 was characterized by slight amounts of precipitation and low temperatures throughout the country. The precipitation last December was only 50-70 percent of the average precipitation for that month, while the January figure is only 1-2 percent of the average. With very few exceptions, not 1 mm of rain has fallen throughout the country since 8 December. Some 64 days have elapsed since then, and this is a very rare phenomenon for the season.

At the same time, low temperatures have been registered throughout this period, particularly during the nights, which in December and January were 3-4 degrees Celsius lower than the average. These low temperatures are persisting to date.

As a result, the water flow throughout the hydrographical network has been considerably reduced and we can say that this has been the driest winter in 40 years. During this period, the water flow has been 24-55 percent lower than the average. The water flow in the Mat, Shkumbin, and Seman Rivers has ranged from 11-26 percent of the average, while the figure for the Drin basin and the Alps is 31-41 percent of the average. Thus, the January water flow in the Valbone River was only 8.3 cubic meters per second, compared with an average of 9.3 cubic meters. The Mat River had an average water flow of 7 cubic meters per second, compared with a long-term average of 42.2 cubic meters per second. A similar situation exists in other rivers. During the first 10 days of February, the water flow throughout the hydrographic network has been observed to be very low, again.

Conservation measures are called for under such circumstances, particularly with regard to the consumption of electricity and water. Strict control is therefore, necessary at every level of production and elsewhere. We must conserve the country's hydro-energy resources as much as possible and with a lofty sense of civic responsibility, in order to avoid the negative consequences of this unprecedented drought everywhere, in agriculture, industry, and so forth. This requires that the special staffs created should daily follow up the problems that arise as a result of this situation.

BCP Secretariat Liberalizes Briefing of Media

AU1502154289 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 6, 6 Feb 89 p 1

[Editorial: "In the Spirit of the Times"]

[Text] Before the congress of the Bulgarian Journalists Union, we have acquired an important and extremely timely document. The Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee has adopted a decision on giving fuller briefings to Bulgarian journalists and foreign journalists in Bulgaria, or, in other words, on expanding the opportunities for fuller briefings of our entire public on issues relating to the country's sociopolitical life and the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The new party document envisages regular [sistemni] meetings of the mass media with the most responsible party and state leaders for the purpose of speedy and competent briefings on important and topical questions. In the pages of the newspapers, on radio and television, these leaders will have increasingly frequent opportunities, and the commitment, to communicate with the millions of readers, viewers, and listeners and to comment on important problems of domestic and international life. It is envisaged to set up a new type of national press center, as well as to create the posts [institutsiite] of a government spokesman, spokesman of the National Assembly, and spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as spokesmen for other state, economic, and social organs. A review will be made of the legal basis for the protection of state and official secrets, which will facilitate the work of journalists, who have until now run up against more than a few cases of zeal for unnecessary secrecy.

Our journalist colleagues naturally welcome this decision. It will also be welcomed by our readers, viewers, and listeners because it is fully in the spirit of the new times.

Zhivkov Chairs Leadership Meeting on CSCE

AU1502194089 Sofia BTA in English 1839 GMT 15 Feb 89

["Step Toward Greater Security and Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 15 (BTA)—The Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, at a joint session chaired by Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, discussed the course and the results of the Vienna follow-up meeting which ended on January 19 this year. It was noted that the Vienna meeting ended with results which assign it an especially important place in the Helsinki process. The conclusive document contains moments, which based on the Helsinki Final Act, mark a new step toward greater security and deepening of the mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres of international relations.

The Politburo of the CC of the BCP, the State Council and the Council of Ministers assessed the results of the meeting as a new stage in the development of the East-West relations in the European Continent. It was stressed that they have serious potential for further favourable effect on the international situation. These results became possible only because of the atmosphere of giving new meaning to the realities in the world, and due, most of all, to the processes of restructuring in the USSR and the other socialist countries. They are a contribution in the realization of the idea for a common European house and on their implementation will depend the further dynamics of the restructuring of the international relations in accordance with the principles of the new political thinking.

The Bulgarian party and state leadership attaches primary importance to the establishing, in the framework of the process which started at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, of a mechanism for negotiations in the military sphere which will include the conventional armed forces and conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals and the measures for strengthening of confidence and security in Europe.

An important place among the results of the Vienna meeting is occupied by the agreements in the sphere of human rights and humanitarian cooperation. They, as well as the established mechanism for cooperation in the humanitarian dimensions of the Helsinki process, will contribute to the complete realization of all rights and basic freedoms of man.

It was noted with satisfaction that for the first time in the Helsinki process an especially important place was occupied by ecological cooperation, for which Bulgaria's services have also been considerable. The new agreements find reflection in the resolution for holding of an expert meeting on ecological cooperation in the autumn this year, which will be hosted by the People's Republic of Bulgaria. It will be an important precondition and will give mighty impetus to the efficient solution of the ecological problems in the European Continent.

Certain advance has been achieved in the sphere of economic and techno-scientific cooperation, as well as on the problems in the region of the Mediterranean.

It was pointed out that the adopted three-year programme of the events after the Vienna forum, including 11 forums—more than all that have been held till the present, lays a solid, promising foundation to the European cooperation. That makes the process constant and dynamic.

The activity of the Bulgarian delegation at the meeting was also approved.

It was pointed out that Bulgaria will continue to give its contribution for implementation of the agreements. In this connection the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, the State Council and the Council of Ministers approved a programme for implementation of the Vienna document.

The Politburo of the CC of the BCP, the State Council and the Council of Ministers express conviction that the negotiations on the reduction of conventional weapons, as well as for new measures for confidence and security, which start on March 6, this year, will be businesslike and will give essential results. The Bulgarian delegation has been instructed to cooperate actively and constructively for the achievement of considerable agreements as soon as possible.

Hope was expressed that the states participating in the Helsinki process will fulfill strictly their obligations undertaken in Vienna with a view to the durable strengthening of security and the further deepening of the cooperation between all European states, the U.S.A. and Canada.

Zhivkov Receives Departing PRC Ambassador

AU1302135989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Feb 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, yesterday received Teng Shaozhi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PRC in Bulgaria, on the occasion of his forthcoming final departure.

Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, attended the reception.

Zhivkov Meets With FRG Art Connoisseurs

AU1402190289 Sofia BTA in English 1831 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 14 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, today received Prof Peter Ludwig and Prof Irene Ludwig, eminent connoisseurs of art and collectors from the FRG.

They have a rich collection of pieces representing modern Bulgarian art and are the initiators of its popularization in many countries in the world. Being champions of the promotion of international cultural cooperation, with their activity they contribute to educating young people through the values of art. An important aspect of their work is their membership in the Circle of Friends of the Lyudmila Zhivkova Foundation, set up in the FRG in 1985. The activity of the Ludwigs helps extend the cultural relations between Bulgaria and the FRG and this was the main topic of today's discussion.

Mr Georgi Yordanov, minister of culture, science and education, and Mr Vladimir Zhivkov, president of the Lyudmila Zhivkova Foundation, were also present at the reception.

Iraqi First Deputy Premier Ramadan To Visit

AU1302185889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] At the invitation of Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and first deputy premier of Iraq, will make an official and friendly visit to Bulgaria during the second half of February.

Committee Issues Declaration on Afghanistan

AU1002135089 Sofia BTA in English 1319 GMT 10 Feb 89

["For Peaceful and Independent Afghanistan"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 10 (BTA)—The Committee for Solidarity With the Peoples of Asia and Africa has issued a declaration which spells:

The Bulgarian people meets with relief and hope the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

Now, more than ever, it is necessary to show common sense and reach a turnover from the escalation of the military actions and the spirit of confrontation to a constructive dialogue, compromise, understanding and confidence.

The Committee for Solidarity With the Peoples of Asia and Africa appeals to the democratic and peace-loving forces in the world, on behalf of the Bulgarian public, to show ever more decisively their solidarity and to struggle to the complete termination of any external interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

For further development of the peace process in Afghanistan it is necessary to create favourable international conditions, particularly in the framework and under the auspices of the United Nations, bearing in mind that this world organization has already given its contribution to the deblocking of the external aspects of the Afghanistan issue. All countries, who really wish the strengthening of peace and understanding in the world, have the moral obligation to cooperate for the establishment of such kind of conditions.

The Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa and the whole Bulgarian public truly wish the improvement of the situation in Afghanistan, the attainment of political regulation of the conflict through the establishment of a coalition on a large footing and the founding of a peaceful, sovereign, independent and non-commitant Afghanistan.

Decisions on Arms Reduction, PDRY Published

AU0802142189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] The following important documents are published in Issue No 11 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK:

Decision No 3 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the reduction of armaments and armed forces in the People's Republic of Bulgaria was adopted on 27 January 1989.

The Ministry of Justice published the agreement signed between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen on legal assistance in civil and penal law cases. Citizens of one signatary country on the territory of the other country are entitled to the same legal protection as the citizens of the respective countries, regarding their personal rights and the protection of their property. They are entitled, freely and without any obstacles, to apply to the law courts, prosecutor's office, public notary's offices, and other organs of the signatary country to appear before these institutions, to submit petitions, and to file suits under the same conditions as the citizens of the respective country. The clauses of the agreement apply to legal persons as well.

Readers Comment on Human Rights Protection Group

AU1502095089

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 11 February on page 2 carries a full page of "readers' letters," totaling 5,000 words, responding positively to the editorial article: "Who is Struggling for Human Rights in Bulgaria and How?" which appeared in RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 7 February 1989. The article criticized the "anticonstitutional, antistate, and antisocialist" activities of the recently formed "Independent Society for the Protection of Human Rights in Bulgaria." The readers' statements express unanimous approval of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO article and share the views of the editorial board on the dissidents involved in the society, expressing indignation at their activities.

According to the introductory note, the "materials published on this page are only small part of the letters, telephone calls, and telegrams received within the last 3 days." The note goes on: "It is not our intention to argue with individuals who are notorious for their criminal and terrorist past, who would do anything to gain personal prestige in the West. We just wished to respond to those foreign propaganda centers and 'voices' that deceive world public opinion and most unceremoniously interfere in our domestic affairs. We do not plan to start a campaign on this subject. The activities of people who have violated the law is the concern of the judicial organs. Nevertheless, in the reactions they have submitted to our editorial board in the past few days—which have been signed by cultural figures, workers, managers of labor collectives, and veterans of the revolutionary movement—our readers assure us that there is no place for antistate activities in our country. Some anonymous disagreements and malicious telephone calls represent a negligible figure out of the large amount of letters and telegrams. While it is clear that not all readers share the same opinion, the position of the overwhelming majority is clear and unmistakable."

The first and longest letter, 2,000 words, is from the Plovdiv Writers Union and is signed by a number of people. Entitled "Whom Are They Crying For?", it discusses the case of the writer Petur Manolov, who is the secretary of the "Independent Society for the Protection of Human Rights" and is currently on a hunger strike in Plovdiv. Manolov, the letter says, is "well known to Plovdiv writers, who appreciated the positive aspects of his published literary works." He was a member of the local writers union, it goes on, and even received financial support from it. The fact that the Plovdiv writers were "too well acquainted with Petur Manolov" it continues, was the reason why they had not intervened on his behalf.

"It is strange," the letter continues, "that prominent Bulgarian writers, who never cared for the literary workers in the provinces are now looking at Plovdiv and ... at Petur Manolov. They did not know him in the past, and only recently have they paid attention to him. It is wonderful to talk about glasnost and democracy, freedom and restructuring, but we cannot accept such talk if it only serves personal interests. The aspirations and efforts to achieve glasnost, democracy, freedom, and restructuring should serve the common interests of all people."

Citing a statement made by Manolov to DEUTSCHE WELLE that he has been a "dissident" since the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia and had lost his job at the SOFIA PRESS news agency as a result, the letter says that the real reason for his resignation and transfer to Plovdiv from Sofia was his idleness and unwillingness to work, and that "he donned the armor of a fighter only a few years ago."

The letter of the Plovdiv Writers Union ends:

"There are many reasons why Petur Manolov, by his own doing, failed in the career of a normal literary worker. His present behavior, his interviews, his hatred, and his hostile attitudes reflect an obscurantism that is incompatible with the image of a poet. We cannot identify with such an individual. We are deeply sorry for his family, but he does not seem to share such a sorrow."

In an 800-word letter addressed to Petur Manolov from "Slave Makedonski, writer," entitled: "No Monument, but the Grass of Oblivion," the author addresses Manolov as an "old friend." Written in a patronizing tone, the letter recalls common "youthful sins" such as drinking bouts and joint visits to bars, for which, however, "the militia did not bother us."

Makedonski describes his own exploits, such as the organization of an open air "street show" (which he intends to pursue in the future), during which he, together with actor Khristo Mavrov, "gathered the people and openly and loudly denounced the social climbers and scoundrels who had laid hands on the garden of socialism for their own selfish goals and interests." Makedonski goes on: "It is true that we had discussions with the Sofia Ministry of Interior organs until the situation was clarified, but later on we 'took possession' of the park opposite the Central Club of the People's Army and of other public places, and no one ever detained or persecuted us because the authorities believed in our sincerity."

Makedonski points out that he has been a "contributor" to RABOTNICHESKO DELO for the last 30 years without being a member of BCP, and that this does not prevent him from "feeling like a communist." Addressing Petur Manolov, he asks him why he has lost his faith, and adds: "Was it because the publishers rejected your new poetry that you so vehemently attacked the BCP and the government? Even some of my own works and those of other authors which displeased certain people have not been published. I cannot judge the literary qualities of your unpublished poetry from the excerpts of the poems cited in the lengthy RABOTNICHESKO DELO article. This is your new poetry about which the Western radio stations and newspapers made so much fuss. It is possible that among all your normal verses they have deliberately selected this disgusting stuff. If this is so, it was not a decent act."

Referring to Manolov's hunger strike, about which he says he has learned but does not know whether it is true, Makedonski exhorts his "friend" to give it up for the sake of his family and to leave the company of "political outcasts, fascists, and extremists." He promises Manolov that he will be "forgiven his temporary delusion and again become one of us," urging him to "do this before it is too late, " but warning him that he should not "expect future generations to build a monument for you, because "only the grass of oblivion, and nothing else awaits you."

The rest of the page, approximately 2,200 words, is devoted to "lines" from signed readers' letters and telegrams, and quotations from telephone calls—from named callers.

Some of the readers point out that the materials should have been published at an earlier stage, and "appropriate measures should have been adopted." Nikola Sestrimski, from the town of Septemvri, claims to be well acquainted with Iliya Minev, chairman of the Society for the Defense of Human Rights, who is accused of having been an active member of the former Bulgarian Legion, a profascist organization known for persecuting and torturing Communists and other opponents of the regime. Describing himself as one of Minev's "victims," Sestrimski writes: "Now Iliya is telling everyone that he never was a member of the fascist Legion, but was imprisoned because he hated the Communists and was against the USSR. I think that the present measures are somewhat delayed; we should not have given him the opportunity to slander us."

Ivan Penchev from Silistra says: "I appreciate the fact that RABOTNICHESKO DELO readers were extensively informed about this case and these people. This is actually an expression of the glasnost we are talking so much about, but which deserves even greater attention. We should not close our eyes to such facts, nor pass them over in silence. Another question, however, is related to the fact that the article was somewhat delayed. Lack of information usually results in the generation and spreading of all kinds of rumors. The subject of the article was a subject of lively comment in some Western mass media. Why did we keep silent about it? It is true, sometimes we feel that it would be beneath our dignity to pay attention to dishonest attacks against us, but if such actions become insistent, we should react to them."

Among the telephone callers, Ivan Petrov from Pleven is quoted as saying: "I approve the article 'Who is Struggling for Human Rights in Bulgaria, and How?', but I think that it should have been published earlier, so that people would not have learned about this association from the Western media...."

Referring to the poem by Petur Manolov published in RABOTNICHESKO DELO, Elena Mitova from Sofia is quoted as saying: "I think that Petur Manolov's poem should not have been published. While I understand that it was done with the purpose of unmasking his immoral character, I do not approve of publishing such things."

Milka Lilova from Sofia is quoted as saying: "Why does the party organ debase itself by writing about such people? I was ashamed to read about people who were Legion members and about the crimes for which they were sentenced. Another newspaper could have written this story."

Dragan Zakhov from Sofia also disapproved of Petur Manolov's "poem" being published.

Some of the letters and telegrams are signed by "collectives" of teachers, Komsomol members, factories, and enterprises. All pledge their loyalty to the party and government and are unanimous in denouncing the "criminals."

More Letters Published

AU1502133189

[Editorial Report] The Sofia dailies OTECHESTVEN FRONT, TRUD, and NARODNA MLADEZH on 13 February 1989 devote space to readers' letters about the RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial article published on 7 February about the activities of the Independent Society for the Protection of Human Rights in Bulgaria. In all three dailies the readers unanimously approve the

publication of facts about the "so-called independent society for the protection of human rights" and about its leaders, expressing their indignation at the "antiparty and antistate" activities and program of the society, and voicing the opinion that "glasnost and restructuring in our country" should not be abused by former fascists or morally unstable characters, and that "subversive Western radio stations," such as Radio Free Europe, should not interfere in domestic Bulgarian affairs.

OTECHESTVEN FRONT devotes the most space—approximately 2,500 words on page 2—to signed letters from citizens of various professions, ranging from the well-known writer Slav G. Karaslavov to athletes, artists, journalists and manual workers.

A 200-word introductory passage states, among other things: "The small group of the so-called 'Independent Society for the Protection of Human Rights in Bulgaria' pursues antisocialist goals. It is not a political force that is likely to shake the solid foundations of our social system. Nevertheless, the noise raised in the West about its activities is not only an intentional provocation against our society, but a political speculation addressed against the process of restructuring and democratization in our country. These are actions aimed at creating a negative public opinion about our country." A collective letter has been dispatched from the participants in a meeting of "the united agrarians aktiv" in the town of Septemvri, denouncing the "chairman of the independent society," their fellow-citizen Ilya Minev, and his "dirty political goals."

On page 2, TRUD carries 1000 words of signed letters from citizens from various professions, mostly factory workers, who approve of the publication of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO article and denounce the "program of the self-appointed strugglers for human rights" as a "blasphemy," because they even dared "to disgrace Georgi Dimitrov's name," as Nedelcho Ivanov, a "journalist form Burgas," writes.

A 600-word article follows on the same page by TRUD reporter Nikolay Gavrilov, entitled: "An Interview That Did Not Take Place," in which the author describes his futile efforts to interview Dimitur Tomov, one of the leaders of the "independent society," who lives in Mikhaylovgrad. Gavrilov cites Tomov's statement during their one and only telephone conversation: "I would like for there to be a witness. Who knows what you are going to attribute to me?" After Tomov failed to show up at the agreed time, Gavrilov visited his home and then spoke with his wife on telephone. Tomov's wife said in "an uncompromising tone" that her husband "refuses to give interviews in which God knows what will be written about him, and does not wish any meetings."

NARODNA MLADEZH carries 1,600 words of letters on pages 1 and 2, mostly by unknown "actors" and "poets," under the headline: "Young People's Public Disapproval of Antisocialist Subversion," preceded by a 400-word introduction which sums up the "feelings and thoughts" of young "working people" about the RABOTNICHESKO DELO article, and also mentions the BTA announcement on Manolov's hunger strike in Plovdiv and the "intentional distortion of the truth" by Western media in this connection.

In addition to the introductory passage, an editorial note reads: "Last weekend, principally in response to the question most frequently raised in readers' letters—why people whose activities are in conflict with the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria remain in liberty—we asked the opinion of competent legal specialists on the offenses listed in the RABOTNICHESKO DELO article. We will acquaint our readers with the experts' opinions in a future issue." The letters published in NARODNA MLADEZH express doubts about Petur Manolov's literary qualities, referring to his "vulgar poetic outpouring" and his political ideas, and violently attacking the interference of "our radio well-wishers from abroad," such as the commentators from Radio Free Europe. Reader Boyan Angelov, who identifies himself as a "poet" points out: "I will not hide my opinion that many of our poets and literary critics, deliberately or not, try to separate poetry from its ideological components, thinking that philosophical poetry should deal with transcendental and abstract problems, and that it should be complicated, introspective, and far from objective reality. Complemented by enigmatic terms which are unintelligible to the general readership, this is supposed to be most effective. It is, however, the effect of imitation which conceals creative impotence, lack of originality, a nihilist and unprofessional attitude."

Angelov sums up an opinion expressed by all the other letters in NARODNA MLADEZH: Only patriotism and a "honest approach in overcoming difficulties" can inspire a "true Bulgarian poet".

Trials Scheduled Related to Railroad Accidents

AU0802155389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Feb 89 p 6

["Announcement" of the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the People's Republic of Bulgaria: "Forthcoming Trials Related to Railroad Accidents Scheduled"]

[Text] The Pleven Okrug Prosecutor' Office has brought a prosecution against Ivan Ivanov Kovachev—switchman at Odurne railroad station—who caused the railroad accident on 6 October 1988 involving the Golden Sands express train. In this accident 3 passengers were killed and 24 suffered moderate and slight injuries. The material damage amounted to 883,565 leva.

The trial will take place on 21 and 22 February 1989.

Investigation procedures concerning the railroad accidents which happened on 11 October 1988 at Levski railroad station, on 22 November 1983 at Grivitsa

station, on 17 December 1988 at Gorna Banya-Sofia station, on 18 December 1988 at Mikhasltsi-Stambolovo station, and on 14 January at Povelyano-Varna station are about to be completed.

The full and objective investigation of the aforementioned railroad accidents require the fulfillment of several procedural actions envisaged in the Penal Code, as well as the gathering of evidence on the responsibility and guilt of people who caused these accidents; on the injuries suffered by citizens involved in the accidents; and on material and psychological damage resulting from the accidents in question. This involves the questioning of defendants and witnesses; the appointment of medical, technical, and economic experts, and so forth. This is the reason why the investigation of the cases will require more time. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the social and psychological effect of the railroad accidents on the population, the investigation and prosecution are adopting the necessary measures for concluding the preliminary legal investigations of the railroad accidents as soon as possible.

Consultancy Center for Enterprises Established

AU1002201389 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 9 Feb 89 p 1

[Report by Valentin Delov: "Launch of Consultancy Industry"]

[Text] The first swallow of this new summer for our economy has made its appearance in Plovdiv in the form of the slightly pretentiously entitled "Intelekspert" Scientific Services Center for Self-Management.

The center's work is primarily aimed at the territorial municipalities. Collectives of highly qualified specialists have begun, on the basis of analyses and studies of the local conditions, to fulfill commissions for concepts, tailor-made programs, and solutions to the problems of the municipalities in Plovdiv Oblast.

The second field for the consultancy services has turned out to be the economy of the enterprises—organization of self-management, economic accountability, planning, price-fixing, accountability, and wages. We have already discovered that in worldwide practice individual specialized offices or firms have appeared for each of these two areas. However, in order to establish its presence in the oblast's sociopolitical life, "Intelekspert" took into account the interest in these commissions, and therefore adopted this direction for its work.

With the growing liberation of the economic units, an acute need has appeared for consultancy services connected with technology transfer. At the last Plovdiv International Technical Fair, our Western partners complained that they could not find their way through our economic structure and make contacts with interested Bulgarian producers and consumers. It is unnecessary to mention that our economic leaders very often do not even guess that the neighboring enterprise has the technology available for which they have been abroad for many years. "Intelekspert" is also taking this task in hand. During its 6-month-long existence, with an average staff of 15 people, it carried out consultancy services last year to the value of 130,000 leva. The organization now has over 20 specialists, and expects the value of its completed services to exceed one-half million leva by the end of the year—and this is only the start.

At present the center does not have the status of a consultancy company because it is still the first in its own field. However, the need for such an industry is self-evident, and the sound economic grounds for its existence will probably soon lead to the creation of hundreds of similar companies in Bulgaria, as well as to the drafting of the relevant statute for their activity.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With SFRY

AU0902200989 Sofia BTA in English 1838 GMT 9 Feb 89

["Bulgaria-Yugoslavia: Cooperation in the Chemical Industry"]

[Text] Sofia, February 9 (BTA)—Bulgaria and Yugoslavia will deepen and improve with new varieties of cooperation in the chemical industry. The agreement signed today on product and technological cooperation between the Devnya Economic Association and Chimimport on the Bulgarian side and the largest Yugoslav production organization in the field of the chemical industry "Ina", Zagreb will contribute to this end. Cooperation and exchange of chemical products to the amount of 150 million dollars is planned.

The Yugoslav delegation was received by Mr Petko Danchev, chairman of the association "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry", alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP. Satisfaction was expressed with the positive development of cooperation between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia in the sphere of chemistry and the possibilities considered for the use of the new types of long-term industrial and market cooperation for the setting up of joint enterprises and joint participation on third markets.

Bulgaria To Produce Improved Diesel Engines

AU1302175689 Sofia BTA in English 1614 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] London, February 13 (BTA correspondent)—The Dvigatelostroene Economic Association and the Perkins Technology Engineering and Consultation Company, an affiliate of the Perkins Group concluded an agreement according to which Bulgaria is to produce a new diesel engine. It will be with an improved ecological characteristics and will consume less fuel as compared with the ones which are produced at present in the country.

The engine parameters will meet the requirements of the world market for diesel engine for the next decade. Its basic application will be in load hoisting I.C.E. trucks in the production of which Bulgaria is a leading country.

The agreement envisages at the same time that Dvigatelostroene Economic Association and Perkins Technology would set up a company for research and consultation activities in other countries. In collaboration with Czechoslovakia Bulgaria would produce for the first time improved fuel-pressure pumps for the needs of engine production.

Business relations between the Bulgarian producers of diesel engines and the group "Perkins" date back to the first half of the 60's and according to the opinions of the British partners are developing well. On the other hand the BKC Limited set up here which is operating with Bulgarian capital delivers on the British market Bulgarian electric and I.C.E. trucks.

First Plant for Rare Gas Production in Service

AU1002185589 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 9 Feb 89 p 1

[Report by Tsv. Khristov: "First Production of Krypton, Xenon..."]

[Text] At the moment, the first Bulgarian facility for the production of krypton, xenon, and pure methane is entering service at the Vidin technological chemical combine. Produced from the methane fraction separated from argon, the expensive inert gases are 99.99 to 99.999 percent pure.

The production capacity of the new unit more than covers the requirements of the domestic economy for xenon and pure methane, which until now have been imported, and guarantees a considerable portion of the valuable krypton needed for the production of economical, reliable light bulbs and electronic valves.

Engineer Dimitur Dimitrov, chief of the "gas separation" production department, said: "The facility, supplied by the West German firm of Linde, is being used to continue the deep processing of waste gases from ammonia production. By 1995, we hope to have available a full range of pure gases and gases for the electronics industry that are in demand on the international market."

Influenza Epidemics Reported in Some Oblasts

AU0802200289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] The Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare announces that the cases of acute respiratory infections and influenza in the country continued to increase during the period of 1-6 February. In comparison with the same period of 1988, there are now many more cases. In Lovech and Khaskovo there are flu epidemics. The number of sick people in Gabrovo, Pernik, Pleven, Razgrad, Sliven, Sofia, and Samokov continues to grow. In comparison with the previous week, the cases of influenza and acute upper respiratory infections increased 16 percent. People of all ages, but mostly children and youth, are ill. It is recommended that one not visit families in which there are sick people, people suffering from high fevers or upper respiratory infections, nor visit sick people in the hospital.

Additional instructions have been issued for the health protection workers throughout the country. The necessary medicines have been ensured.

Hungary's Grosz Visits, Holds Talks With Jakes

Delegation Greeted at Airport

LD1502154889 Budapest MTI in English 1417 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Prague, Feb 15 (MTI)—As reported earlier, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP, left for Prague on Wednesday on a one-day friendly working visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Mr Grosz is accompanied by Geza Kotai, member of the HSWP CC, director of the CC department dealing with international party relations, and Gyula Thurmer, the general secretary's foreign affairs adviser.

The delegation was met at the airport by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Jan Fojtik and Jozef Lenart, CC secretaries, Miroslav Stepan, first secretary of the Prague party committee, and Karel Urbanek, chairman of the committee in charge of party work in Bohemia, all members of the CCP [Czechoslovak Communist Party] CC Presidium, as well as Michal Stefanak, director of the CCP CC's International Department. Hungarian ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Miklos Barity, and the ambassador of Czechoslovakia to Hungary, Vlastimil Ehrenberger, were also present.

Messrs Grosz and Jakes began discussions shortly after arrival. Talks were held concurrently by Geza Kotai and his Czech counterpart Michal Stefanak. Following the discussions, Mr Jakes hosted a lunch in Mr Grosz's honour, and the afternoon will be rounded off by a final plenary discussion. The general secretary of the HSWP is then scheduled to hold a press conference, concluding his visit.

Jakes Opens Meeting

LD1502154489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Excerpt] MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz is in Prague for a day of talks at the invitation of his colleague, Milos Jakes. Evelin Forro reports:

[Forro] These talks come at a complicated time, said Milos Jakes, for we all are looking for some kind of direction for progress in society. We are seeking answers, continued the general secretary fo the Czechoslovak Communist Party, as to how stagnation can be conquered, how all those long-term problems can be solved. The present meeting is given particular significance by this fact, and I think our exchange of opinions will contribute to even better contacts between the two parties.

The journalists heard these words of greeting at the commencement of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak party general secretaries' meeting, then naturally, the press colleagues were sent out and the exchange of opinions really began. [passage omitted]

Leaders Begin Discussions

LD1502190489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1700 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] At the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, today paid a working and friendly visit to Czechoslovakia. After the welcome at Ruzyne airport in Prague, talks were held between Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee.

In a friendly open conversation, Milos Jakes reported on the current tasks facing the CPCZ in connection with the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the democratization of the life of society. He pointed to the deepening and broadening of the role of individual political parties and organizations of the National Front in the social life of Czechoslovakia. He explained the approach of the CPCZ in fulfilling the conclusions of the 17th congress and of the subsequent CPCZ Central Committee plenums, and during the preparation of the 18th party congress.

Karoly Grosz reported in detail about the MSZMP Central Committee session which took place on 10 and 11 February. He emphasized that the MSZMP is determined to continue building an effectively functioning socialist market economy which relies on the implementation of economic laws, to reform the political system and create conditions for a transition to a system with more parties. These measures will enable the fuller development of the social possibilities of socialism.

Both general secretaries emphasized that the CPCZ and the MSZMP are working out their policies independently and are responsible to their own for their activity. They were in agreement that new experiences from the restructuring of socialism are leading to a need for greater exchange of findings and views of joint Marxist-Leninist evaluation of the situation and for a deepening of comradely cooperation. They spoke openly about existing difficulties and approaches to solving them.

Milos Jakes and Karoly Grosz noted that cooperation between the two sides is developing on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, on the priciples of internationalism, independence, and equality, and that it is creating a firm basis for further enrichment of relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary and between the peoples of the two countries. They emphasized that further opportunities exist in these relations. They underlined that in mutually advantageous economic relations it is necessary to vigorously implement new methods which will elevate the long-term cooperation onto a qualitatively higher level. At issue is first and foremost the need to intensify specialization, cooperation, and activity aimed at further deepening scientific and technical cooperation. They emphasized the importance of expanding direct contacts between economic

organizations, of setting up joint enterprises, and of cooperating on third markets, as well as the importance of making the contacts between friendly regions, counties, and sister cities more effective.

Milos Jakes and Karoly Grosz called for an effective and regular exchange of experience between the two sides on the most important tasks of the renewal of socialist society. In this connection they emphasized the importance of public information—the tasks and responsibilities of the media. Widening contacts between citizens, exchanging cultural values, and improving conditions for tourism play an important part in the understanding between the two countries.

The CPCZ and the MSZMP proceed from the principles of the Leninist nationalities policy and will also in the future continue to cooperate and assist in the creation of conditions aimed at the all-around development and enrichment of the cultures and at the preservation of the national identity and language of ethnic minorities living in the two states. The two sides are striving to ensure that this nationality policy contributes also in the future to the strengthening of friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

The joint statement spoke for the acceleration of the restructuring of the mechanism and structure of the CEMA so that the multifaceted cooperation between the socialist countries becomes an effective means of economic development.

During the exchange of views on topical aspects of the international situation, Milos Jakes and Karoly Grosz voiced the unity of views and standpoints on the main issues of world politics. The CPCZ and the MSZMP consider eliminating the danger of nuclear war, preserving peace and strengthening international security as the most important tasks. They noted that thanks to the efforts of the socialist states and of other realistic forces in the world, the new thinking, at the center of which is the achievement of progress in securing values for all humanity and the environment, is gradually being pushed through in international relations.

Milos Jakes and Karoly Grosz voiced satisfaction with the fulfillment of the treaty on the complete elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles between the Soviet Union and the United States. They emphasized the importance of the agreement, which is being drawn up, on a 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons and the convention aimed at banning and eliminating chemical weapons. They pointed at the exceptional importance of commencing the process of reducing conventional armaments and of disarmament in Europe. In this connection, the Soviet measures and proposals delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly and the proposals of other socialist countries are of exceptional importance.

This all-European process of disarmament is being positively aided by the unilateral measures by Czecholovakia and Hungary to reduce the numbers of armies and armaments.

The leading representatives of both parties appreciated the favorable development of European relations and welcomed the successful conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting. The CPCZ and MSZMP ascribe great significance to deepening the process of European security and cooperation for which full respect for an implementation of the principles anchored in the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act are vital. Both sides support the proposal of Czechoslovakia to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations among states lying on the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and the joint initiative of the MSZMP, the Italian Socialist Party, and the Finnish Social-Democratic Party concerning cooperation between countries which do not have nuclear weapons, and also the proposal for a meeting of heads of governments of countries bordering Czechoslovakia, on questions of the ecology, in Prague.

They exchanged views on the present development of the communist and workers movement and emphasized the importance of increasing the joint action of all progressive parties. They stressed that close cooperation with other parties will help to give valid answers to the theoretical and practical questions of the present.

The talks between Milos Jakes and Karoly Grosz were held in an open, comradely, and constructive atmosphere. The MSZMP general secretary invited the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee to visit the Hungarian People's Republic. The invitation was accepted with pleasure. Karoly Grosz ended his working friendly visit to Czechoslovakia and departed for Hungary late in the afternoon. Before his departure Milos Jakes and Karoly Grosz granted an interview to Czechoslovak and Hungarian newsmen.

Talks Termed 'Successful'

LD1502223289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] As we announced in the news, at the close of the working friendly visit by Comrade Karoly Grosz to our country, the Hungarian representative and Comrade Milos Jakes met with journalists for a short talk. Editor David Stahlavsky was among them:

[Stahlavsky] The CSSR and Hungarian journalists present were first and foremost interested in how both the highest party representatives evaluated the course and results of the working friendly visit. Comrade Grosz said on this subject:

[Begin Grosz recording in Hungarian with superimposed Czech translation] The purpose of consultations between general secretaries is not to sign contracts. The main

point is to exchange views on those political processes which we are taking an active part in and which are characteristic of the life of both countries. Our meeting also took place in a very open factual atmosphere. We spoke about all questions which are of interest at the present time to both our parties. I had the opportunity to give precise information about the everyday life of the MSZMP and at the same time Comrade Jakes informed me about the experiences gained in the CSSR.

The subjects of our talks were both internal political information, everyday life, and mutual cooperation in both our countries, in the political international and economic areas. We spoke about clear, concrete questions. We supported the results of the consultations between both deputy premiers of our governments which took place on 6 February in Budapest. We are concerned with the realization of those tasks which face us. These are joint enterprises and other new economic, enterprise cooperation forms, and also the development of tourism.

We expressed thanks to the CSSR side for the nationalities policy which it implements in your country. We also spoke about the current questions of the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymarosz water project, about all the questions which are linked with our everyday life.

I think that after several hours spent in your country we can return to our homeland feeling of successful. [end recording]

[Stahlavskiy] The next question was for the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. Asked how he evaluates the perspectives of bilateral relations after today's Hungarian-Czechoslovak talks, Comrade Jakes replied:

[Begin Jakes recording] In the final analysis, as Comrade Grosz has already said, one of the very important questions we discussed was problems of mutual cooperation, which is not just a case of exchanging experiences but how to continue to open the way for this all-around cooperation. Naturally the economic area has a key role here. Comrade Grosz spoke about what was discussed but we also spoke about the area which concerns culture, which concerns contact between people, and I believe, and preceeding experiences bear witness to this, that good conditions have been created for cooperation widen, but we must, above all find new forms, especially in the economy. This means looking for wider cooperation which there has not been much of so far, about 11 percent; there is potential for building joint enterprises. There are concrete proposals for areas and places where this could be considered. There is also the possibility of tripartite cooperation, for example with the participation of a capitalist country.

In the cultural sphere this concerns the activization of our cultural center. Such a center was opened in Budapest a few days ago. This also means the activization and spread of centers in the CSSR, and the wide development of cultural cooperation. [end recording]

Grosz, Jakes Conclude Talks

LD1502220289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Karoly Grosz and Milos Jakes met in Prague today. Evelin Forro reports:

[Forro] There was a tete-a-tete discussion this morning while the delegation members conducted a separate exchange of views. After luncheon and toasts there was a brief plenary session in the afternoon, then a few minutes for the journalists. This is a brief summary of Karoly Grosz's Prague program today. At the first meeting he mentioned that they wanted to use every minute, because time is short. To the greatest surprise of the journalists present, the CSSR party leader, already in our presence began to talk about issues which they used to only talk about behind closed doors. He mentioned, for example, that this discussion is taking place in a complex period, because we are all seeking some kind of forward path in society. We are seeking the answer to the question of how stagnation can be overcome and how all the long-term problems can be resolved.

As for what happened later when the journalists were not present, Karoly Grosz summed this up at his news conference.

[Begin Grosz recording] The purpose of this consultation is not to conclude deals, and not to [word indistinct] concrete issues. [word indistinct] The most important objection is to exchange and harmonize opinions about the political processes which we take an active part in and which characterize the life of the two countries. Our meeting was very clear, precise, objective, and (?open). We spoke about every issue which concerns the two parties. I had the good fortune to give a thorough account of the Hungarian party's daily, fairly action-packed and varied life, and I was able to learn from Comrade Jakes' about the experience which they have here in the CSSR.

A topic of our discussions, beyond internal political information and beyond the issues touching on the parties' life, was cooperation between the two countries in the field of politics, in international life, and in economic cooperation. We exchanged opinions also about very clear, concrete issues. As a matter of fact we supported the consultations which the deputy premiers held in Budapest on 6 February. We discussed the implementation of the programs which represent the further development of the two countries' economic cooperation, in the mixed enterprise form, or in joint ventures. Apart from this, we spoke also about the topical issues of tourism, we voiced our thanks for the nationality policy which is pursued here. We spoke about topical issues connected with the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros contruction, in other words, about everything that fills our lives. We go home with feelings of great satisfaction, with good feelings. I think we spent these few hours together usefully. [end recording]

[Ferro] The NEPSZABADSAG correspondent asked Milos Jakes how he judges the prospects of relations, with special regard to the economy. The Czechoslovak party leader said that the conditions are good for the expansion of relations; on the other hand, in the economy, further forms have to be sought; joint ventures, which at present amount to a 10-11 percent share, will have to be expanded. There is also question of multilateral cooperation, which capialist countries could also be involved in.

On behalf of Hungarian Radio, I asked Karoly Grosz what the CSSR partner's opinion is about the fact that the MSZMP Central Committee has decided that we will realize the conditions of socialist pluralism within the framework of the multiparty system.

[Begin Grosz recording] Czechoslovakia of all places should not be surprised by this since here political pluralism functions in a multiparty structure. As is usual in the movement, the CSSR comrades believe that this is the business of the Hungarian party's internal affairs. However, I have to say that they listened with great interest and attention to the considerations on the basis of which we reached this conclusion. I think that they understand that we are seeking the path to shaping a new socialist model amid complex political conditions. This fits organically into this. Therefore, I found understanding not reservation. [end recording]

[Forro] One of the most important parts of the communique issued on the talks deals with nationalities. [passage omitted]

Karoly Grosz and the members of the delegation left Prague for home early this evening.

Grosz Answers Journalists

LD1602035989 Prague Television Service in Slovak 2100 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Comrades Milos Jakes and Karoly Grosz held a news conference. In our foreign political news we now return to some of Comrade Grosz's answers to journalists questions.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Question from Czechoslovak Television: Comrade General Secretary, what main tasks face Hungarian society today in connection with the realization of political and economic reforms following the MSZMP Central Committee session?

[Grosz in Hungarian with superimposed Slovak translation] After the plenary session, we are faced above all and first and foremost with strengthening party unity in the interest of ensuring that our efforts for reform both in politics and the economy are successful. No reform program can be realized unless it is managed according to a plan whereby the leading force is not present. No program can be realized when it is accompanied only with spontaneous manifestation and anarchy. For this reason the Hungarian party, during the course of the 2-day session, came to the conclusion that the most important task is to strengthen the party's leading role. In doing so the most important question is the recreation of unity. Naturally, we must look forward and not back. For this reason we are thinking more about the next Central Committee session, which will take place next week on Monday and Tuesday, and where the first point on the agenda will be a discussion of the concept for the new constitution.

In realizing the way toward political reforms the Constitution is one of the significant steps forward we will take in the next few years and a very important part of our economic reform. The second point on the agenda is the party's new agricultural policy. In its activity in the past 10 years the MSZMP has achieved perhaps the most significant successes in its agricultural policy. Anyone who has been to Hungary can see that the country's agriculture has qualitatively changed. But we feel that we have exceeded our possibilities and we must begin to renew our agrarian poicy. This is not in the interest of just one stratum, it is in the interest of all society because it concerns the food supply to the country. It concerns more than $1.5 billion of export to capitalist countries, R1 billion of socialist exports, and not least it concerns production for industry, the food industry, and agriculture.

Next week we will talk about the most important part of our national economic regeneration. We can find in it a connection between the Central Committee session of 10 February and the 20 February session. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Grosz Completes Visits, Departs

LD1502193289 Prague CTK in English 1718 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 15 (CTK)—General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Karoly Grosz ended his one-day working visit to Czechoslovakia and left for home today.

He was seen off at the airport by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes and other officials.

Budapest TV Reviews Talks

LD1502192989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Karoly Grosz paid a brief working visit to Prague today. The day, which was to have a heavy schedule, opened with the Hungarian party general secretary being welcomed early this morning by his colleague, Milos Jakes at Prague airport. From here they drove to the headquarters of the CPCZ Central Committee where they conferred for 4 full hours, either alone or accompanied by interpreters and advisers. From politics, through the economy, to the nationalities issue, they essentially reviewed every issue which we usually describe as of mutual interest. With regard to the basic positions, according to my sources, the CPCZ is interested in Hungary being a stable partner also in the future. And the MSZMP for its own part follows with sympathy the Czechoslovak perestroyka [as heard]. Among other things, they deemed political cooperation to be problem-free.

With regard to the economy, here the political leaders took a forceful stance on the side of enterprise and joint production ventures, and they expressed dissatisfaction with the CEMA's present state.

Later, at the news conference, a sensation was caused when the Hungarian party general secretary expresses gratitude for Czechoslovakia's nationalities policy, and Milos Jakes stresses that as far as nationalities are concerned, there is an absolute identity of views between the two parties on this issue.

The officials conferred in a friendly and open atmosphere; nothing leaked which might have indicated that perhaps there are frictions as well. As a matter of fact it was this that formed the topic of my questions to Karoly Grosz on board the plane that was bringing him home:

[Begin recording] [Question] With regard to the fact that up till the recent past, as far as I know, the CPCZ had strong views on certain ideological political issues, did your negotiating partners today voice reservations or anxieties in connection with political development in Hungary?

[Grosz] No. Not at all, neither at the official discussion, nor at the friendly exchange of views which we conducted while we were having lunch. I felt that my partners are very well briefed about the issues which they asked me about, and I experienced understanding. Of course, it is very difficult to formulate this, because they do not say this. From the way they approached the problems, the way they expressed opinions about what they know, what they consider to be of value, from all this I dare to conclude that they are following our path seeking with sympathy.

At the same time I have to say that at the discussion Comrade Jakes formulated very clearly the tenet which we also profess, that every party shapes its policy according to its own historical circumstances, conditions, and endowments, that this policy undoubtedly has an effect on the whole of international life, on the workers' movement. Therefore, here we have to make one another's work not more difficult but easier. And they encouraged me by saying that if we feel that they can help us in some way then we should formulate that clearly. Therefore, the relationship should be open, honest, and cooperative. [end recording]

Communique Issued on Grosz Visit

LD1502231489 Budapest MTI in English
1913 GMT 15 Feb 89

["Grosz's Visit to Prague—Communique"—MTI headline]

[Text] Prague, February 15 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP), paid a friendly working visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on February 15, 1989, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC), and held talks with Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

In a friendly, open atmosphere, Karoly Grosz detailed the February 10-11 session of the HSWP CC. He emphasized the resolute intention of the HSWP to continue to evolve a socialist market economy, which operates efficiently on the basis of economic laws, reform the system of political institutions, and create the conditions of transition to multi-party system. All this facilitates a fuller accomplishment of the social possibilities of socialism.

Milos Jakes gave briefs on the topical tasks of CPC in transforming the economic mechanism and extending democracy in social life. He pointed out that the political parties and organizations rallied by the National Front were facing increasing tasks in the social life of Czechoslovakia. He also discussed the the activity of the CPC.

The two general secretaries emphasized that the HSWP and the CPC pursued independent policies, and that their activities were accountable to their people. They agreed that new experience in socialist construction makes it increasingly important to compare the views, evaluate the situation in a common, Marxist-Leninist way, and cooperate in a comradely manner. They spoke openly about the existing difficulties, and the necessity of appropriate handling and solution.

The HSWP general secretary and the CPC CC general secretary established that cooperation between the two parties was developing on the basis of the principles of independence, equal rights, internationalism and Marxism-Leninism, and creating a solid foundation for the enrichment of many-sided relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and between the peoples living in the two countries. It was pointed out that there were untapped reserves in relations.

The sides emphasized the importance of expanding direct relations between economic organizations, establishing joint ventures, cooperating on third markets and increasing the efficiency of sister-county and sister-city cooperation.

Karoly Grosz and Milos Jakes stated that the HSWP and the CPC strive to hold efficient and regular exchange of information on the pratical experience in the most important issues of renewing socialist society. In this respect, they stressed the importance of openness, and the role and responsibility of the mass media.

Starting from the principles of the Leninist policy towards the nationalities, the HSWP and the CPC continue their cooperation, and promote the many-sided development of national minorities in the two countries, and help them preserve their national character and mother tongue and enrich their culture. The two parties endeavour that the nationality policy should continue to contribute to strengthening friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

The two general secretaries urged the more rapid transformation of the operational mechanism and structure of the CMEA.

The HSWP and the CPC held it their most important tasks to avert the danger of nuclear war, preserve peace, and consolidate international security. It was established that, due to the socialist countries and the other realist forces in the world, a new way of thinking was gaining ground in international relations that focussed on the promotion of universal human progress, and the preservation of human values and the environment.

The sides expressed satisfaction over the implementation of the agreement signed by the Soviet Union and the United States on the full abolition of intermediate and shorter range missiles. They emphasized the importance of the agreement to be concluded on a 50 per cent cut in strategic weapons, and of the convention aimed at eliminating and imposing a ban on chemical weapons. The sides emphasized the outstanding import of starting the process of conventional arms limitation and disarmament in Europe. The Soviet measures and proposals put forward at the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session by Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU CC general secretary and president of the Supreme Soviet, and the initiatives of other socialist countries were held to be of particular importance, and the unilateral cuts in armed forces and armaments by the Hungarian People's Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to serve arms limitation in Europe efficiently.

The leaders of the two parties highly appreciated the favourable trends in European relations, and welcomed the successful conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting. The HSWP and the CPC attribute utmost importance to the deepening of the CSCE process for which the full observation and assertion of the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki final Act are indispensable.

The sides support the tripartite initiative made by the HSWP, the Italian Socialist Party, and the Finnish Social Democratic Party, for the cooperation of non-nuclear states, and the proposals of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for creating a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbourly relations along the border of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries, and convening a meeting of the prime ministers of Czechoslovakia's neighbours for discussing ecological issues.

The sides exchanged views on the situation of the communist and labour movement, and underlined the importance of cooperation between progressive forces. They attribute utmost importance to the fact that the two parties, in close cooperation with other parties, help find up-to-date answers to the topical theoretical and practical questions of the international communist and labour movement. The talks between Karoly Grosz and Milos Jakes were marked by a profound, comradely and constructive atmosphere. The HSWP general secretary invited to Hungary the CPC CC general secretary, who accepted the invitation with thanks.

Plans for Joint Venture With Hungary Initiated

AU1002125689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Feb 89 p 7

["vil"-signed report: "A Czechoslovak-Hungarian Joint Venture Will Be Established"]

[Excerpts] Budapest (our correspondent)—**Pavel Hrivnak**, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the Czechoslovak part of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, was received by **Miklos Nemeth**, premier of the Hungarian People's Republic, on Tuesday [7 February]. P. Hrivnak also had talks with **Pal Tetenyi**, minister of finances of the Hungarian People's Republic.

In the afternoon, the guest paid a visit to the village of Nyergesujfalu, and at the Magyar Viscozagyar enterprise met with **Frigyes Berecz**, the minister of industry of the Hungarian People's Republic. The Hungarian enterprise, which manufactures viscose silk, is one of the best prospering enterprises in the Hungarian People's Republic. It employs 2,400 people, among them 200 Czechoslovak citizens from the nearby border region. Preparations for the establishment of a Czechoslovak-Hungarian joint venture for the production of viscose silk within the framework of this organization are currently under way. [passage omitted]

P. Hrivnak ended his vist to the Hungarian People's Republic the same day.

Jakes Addresses Ranking Media Personnel 9 Feb

AU1402135389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

["From" the speech by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, to ranking media personnel in Prague on 9 February: "We Count on All Honest People"]

[Text] **Prague (CTK)— As we have already reported, Comrades Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, and Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, met with the ranking personnel of the mass information media in the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics on Thursday [9 February].**

Milos Jakes said that we are meeting at a very turbulent time, both from the domestic and the international point of view. It is a period of significant changes which concern the further development of our country and

socialism, a period which places high demands on the activity of the Communist Party, the National Front, the socialist state, our entire society and, of course, also of the information media.

The importance of the year 1989 is given, above all, by the fact that it is a further year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan in which it is necessary to make an effort to achieve the best possible implementation of the tasks determined in the socioeconomic sphere in the interest of ensuring the country's internal as well as external economic stability.

At the same time it is necessary to achieve such progress in the restructuring of the economic mechanism as would make it possible to comprehensively implement this mechanism throughout the national economy as of 1 January 1990. The agricultural and food complex and the organizations of public catering and domestic trade have already been working in accordance with its principles since 1 January this year.

We must also make further progress in deepening socialist democracy as the foundation of the comprehensive restructuring of all spheres of society's life, in perfecting the political system, the flow of information to the public, and in developing an open policy.

The importance of this year is underscored by the fact that it is a year of very concrete and intensive preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress, which will require very extensive theoretical and political-organizational work within the party. Annual membership meetings will be held in the fall, followed by party conferences. It will also be necessary to draft important congress documents. At the same time it will be important to involve the whole of society in precongress discussion, and to develop people's work and initiative.

It is necessary to realize that we have begun implementing these tasks in a complex situation, when—alongside to the general public's support for the set tasks—various internal and external forces are activating themselves with the objective of misusing the process of restructuring and democratization for their own ends, to destabilize society, and many of them, in the final consequence, to destroy socialism in our country.

From the viewpoint of our further course and the lesson for our further work I believe it is important to summarize the year 1988. All the more so since in that year we began to implement the conclusions of the seventh session of the party Central Committee, which—proceeding from the strategic line of the 17th CPCZ Congress aimed at accelerating the socioeconomic development—mapped out, in linkage with the fifth session of the party Central Committee, a comprehensive program of economic and social restructuring and democratization. It also adopted important recommendations aimed at activating the National Front and the organizations affiliated in it, at strengthening the role and the powers of the national committees as the components of people's power and as self-managing organs. It also determined new approaches to the implementation of cadre policy in the interest—among other things—of increasing the number of nonparty members and members of other political parties in leading posts. It adopted very important conclusions on the development of a broad flow information to the public, of control, and for the realization of open policy.

The seventh CPCZ Central Committee session fully endorsed and highly valued the inspiring role of the CPSU's revolutionary line aimed at restructuring Soviet society and asserting new political thinking in international relations.

The conclusions of the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session of December 1987, which met with a great response, continue to be the foundation of the activity of the Communist Party, the National Front, state and economic bodies, as well as for the orientation of the mass information media.

The course of the comprehensive restructuring of our society was solidified by the subsequent sessions of the party Central Committee. The eight CPCZ Central Committee session, which was held on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Victorious February, was important in that it took a stand on the key events of the postwar development of our state and on the work of the party. It characterized restructuring as the realization of the revolutionary legacy of Victorious February, the continuation of the socialist revolution under the current conditions, in its new stage.

The ninth CPCZ Central Committee session in April 1988 devoted itself to restructuring party work as the fundamental prerequisite for successfully carrying out the restructuring of society and strengthening socialism. It stressed, above all, the need for new approaches toward the realization of the party's leading role in society, based on the extensive application of leadership methods. It criticized the party's continuing to substitute for economic and state bodies, thus taking over direct responsibility for carrying out various functions. It stressed the need to deepen intraparty democracy further, as well as openness and public insight into cadre policy, the need for secret elections, for limiting terms of office, and for putting an end to the accumulation of offices. A Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR and a Commission for Control and Auditing Work in the Czech SR were set up and began work on the basis of the conclusions of the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session.

The 10th CPCZ Central Committee session in October 1988 addressed issues connected with restructuring ideological work, with activating the ideological front to support restructuring and democratization, and moving to the offensive against the escalating attacks by hostile forces. It set exceptionally important tasks for our propaganda and for the sphere of mass information media. That session

carried out changes in the composition of the executive bodies of the party Central Committee with the objective of rejuvenating them: It proposed fundamental cadre changes in the federal government and the national governments, established standing commissions of the CPCZ Central Committee, and commissions for working out the party's program and statutes, and recommended setting up a commission of the CPCZ and the National Front to draft a new CSSR constitution.

The 11th CPCZ Central Committee session, which was also held in October 1988, assessed the historical importance of the founding of the independent Czechoslovak Republic and the development of our statehood up to the present.

The 12th session in December 1988 assessed the results of socioeconomic development last year and the progress of the economic reform. It discussed the 1988 state plan, endorsed the government policy statement, especially its intention to speed up the restructuring of the economic mechanism by 1 year. It decided to convene the 18th party congress 1 year ahead of schedule, determined the fundamental outlines of the precongress campaign, and adopted further cadre conclusions concerning the composition of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Reform is Proceeding, Requires More Support

Generally it can be said that these meetings, as a whole, constitute the fundamental concept for economic and social restructuring under our conditions. The Presidium and the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee are paying systematic attention to ensuring their conclusions. At the same time it is natural that the progress of restructuring in various spheres of social life will be further specified and solidified in the highest party, state, and representative bodies. This also requires us to react flexibly to developments and, on the basis of results, gradually carry out the necessary adjustments.

I am mentioning these facts because those who object to the party policy, and also the hostile forces that are being intensively instigated by Western propaganda, are trying to spread the view that reforms are not making headway in our country, that nothing changes. Also, they are trying to spread various rumors about our allegedly wait-and-see attitude vis-a-vis the reforms in the USSR with the aim of driving a wedge between the socialist countries, to grade them in various ways.

Our position is quite clear. Proceeding from the responsibility for the development of socialism in our country, as well as from international contexts, we have the same objectives as the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It is natural that we are realizing them in accordance with our own specific conditions and that we are making use of the experience of our friends, especially the CPSU. We regard restructuring as an essential prerequisite for the further upsurge of our socialist society, for the strengthening of the positions of socialism and its prestige in the world.

The results of the CPCZ Central Committee sessions and the decisions which have been adopted, including cadre changes, met with a positive response and support not only from party members, but also from the absolute majority of citizens and from the National Front organizations. They were endorsed by congresses and conferences of social organizations, sessions of the National Front Central Committee, social organizations and political parties. The all-trade union conference was particularly significant in this respect. However, in practice we still have not completely succeeded in transforming oral support into concrete deeds. This is a fundamental weak spot. We must focus our utmost attention and efforts on this at present; this is an important task of the information media, too.

Of great importance in this entire period—and, of course today too—is the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union and, especially, the conclusions of the 19th All-Trade CPSU Conference. We, in the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, have discussed the possibility of utilizing its results. A comprehensive timetable of tasks and measures was adopted on this issue which concern, in particular, the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress and practical policy.

The process of restructuring must not be simplified. Unfortunately, we are frequently witnessing just that. This is a very difficult reversal, which is sometimes even painful for many people. Since it stems from the decisions, one has to push through new approaches in a numbers of directions to the key issues, including the very perception of socialism and its real values. This also applies to socioeconomic development, the process of democratization, and the solution of international political issues.

Not everything can be predetermined to the last detail. Conditions change; new complications arise; one also has to reckon with considerable risks and with the possibility of committing errors, and thus also with the need to make certain course corrections which practical life commands. To put it concisely, detailed ready-made recipes do not exist. However, that must not make us nervous, this is a natural, responsible process of seeking and testing what is good and how to proceed.

The complexity of the contemporary period is further compounded by the fact that we must also resolve a number of problems and difficulties which have accumulated over a long period, and which elicit people's criticism and dissatisfaction. However, we must see that this is not criticism of socialism, but criticism of shortcomings which people are experiencing, be it on the

domestic market or in services, of lagging scientific-technical development, breakdowns in production and in supplier-user relations, various bureaucratic manners, and negative phenomena in society.

One also has to keep on overcoming certain habits and inertia, the idea that decisions of central bodies will solve everything. Unfortunately, these ideas are deeply rooted. Also the fact that we find ourselves in a period of transition is a factor here. The important thing is not to permit problems which stem from more profound causes, especially from previous developments, and the intensification of which is also caused by external influences, to be linked with the process of restructuring and democratization. On the contrary, the party line is oriented toward eliminating problems, toward achieving new quality in the functioning of all spheres of social life, and toward better satisfying people's needs. This cannot be achieved in a single year. It is necessary to avoid spreading such illusions. This requires honesty, tenacious work, stamina, selflessness, and active participation by all people. One should not remain a nonparticipating observer or a onesided critic. The foundation for the success of restructuring is to involve the broadest strata of citizens in its realization and to win their trust. The tasks of the present require, above all, energetic and practical actions in all spheres, a pragmatic solution to problems, and truthful answers to the individual questions concerning society's life.

Overcoming mental barriers of egalitarianism, relying on other people's work and on someone else to resolve tasks and problems is an urgent requirement. One has to eliminate the disparity between incomes and genuine work results. Paying wages which are not based on real value is dangerous; this imperils the stability of our economy and has a serious impact from the viewpoint of the domestic market's balance.

Restructuring must lead to making stagnant waters move, to an irreconcilable struggle against indolence and mediocrity, against parasitism and social demagoguery. All that, naturally, will affect a number of people, who will not always be in favor of changes, and will not applaud them. However, in the interest of establishing social justice and asserting the policy of restructuring, there is no other way. All honest people who are able and willing to contribute to restructuring and the development of the economy will certainly comprehend and support this. Moreover, as far as we are concerned, resolving various problems connected with supply or in other spheres by increasing the foreign debt, with unjustified subsidies, and laying foundations for inflationary tendencies is no solution.

Who, Why, and How We Want To Reverse the Process of Restructuring

The activation of antisocialist forces and various groups which are trying to form and act as opposition as well, is a weighty issue of the current period. Their actions enjoy broad support of, and assistance from, the West. Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, and others directly participate in organizing them. The transition from covert forms of activity to attempts to have an open confrontation, including developing psychological pressure, intimidation, and even psychological terror against people who stand on the positions of socialism and who publicly condemned their activities, are a new phenomenon in the activity of antisocialist forces. Of late, attempts to organize and misuse petition signing campaigns had also occurred, especially among cultural workers and other groups of intelligentsia. One also bets on the inexperience and sometimes even on the disorientation of young people. The actions of antisocialist forces are even being joined by various criminal elements nowadays. The tactics of the illegal groups are to cast in doubt the right of the state to take action against those who infringe upon the Constitution, laws, and public order.

The activity of illegal church structures and some church representatives, their attempts to misuse the religious feelings of believes against socialism, also must not be ignored. The fundamental requirement is to oppose these attempts by a consistent implementation of our policy vis-a-vis churches and believers who, in their absolute majority, are honestly contributing to the development of our society.

Also, some former ranking party officials of 1968 are activating themselves, officials who want to organize the so-called club of socialist revival. They are passing themselves off as the predecessors of restructuring and strive to rehabilitate themselves and the policy which they conducted.

It also is no coincidence that during the provocative actions last January, antisocialist forces even tried to misuse the talks on the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting. That activity of theirs became an opportunity to unleash a new campaign against Czechoslovakia, the party, and socialism by some circles in the Western countries, even though realistic attitudes exist there, too.

Our standpoint is unambiguous: We signed the final document, we took an active part in drafting it, and we will implement it. Its text will be published in our country in a mass print run. However, in accordance with the Final Act of the Helsinki conference, we will not tolerate attempts to infringe the sovereignty of our socialist state, which are being committed by some Western political circles and information media.

The overwhelming majority of citizens have an unequivocal opinion of the actions of the antisocialist forces and illegal groups. They condemn their activities, demand order and conditions for calm and creative work, they want to proceed in the spirit of the line which has been set, that is, of restructuring and democratization. We will not let ourselves be led astray from that line. This is an

unchangeable standpoint of our party, the National Front, and the government. It is necessary to make use of every opportunity to more emphatically resolve problems which, next to objective circumstances, have a number of subjective causes, on which hostile forces are trying to parasitize. This applies, above all, to our economy, the stabilization of the market, the implementation of the economic reform, and the consistent implementation of the resolutions which we have adopted. At the same time we must conduct an offensive and broad political dialogue with all who stand on the platform of socialism, with the exception of downright enemies. We must win over to our side all honest people, also work with the former party members, the majority of whom are contributing to the development of socialist society. We also must win those citizens who are manipulated and have no clear position, and support people's conviction that the path on which we have embarked is the correct path, that it is in our power to cope with tasks and efficiently resolve problems with which we are grappling.

Political approach does not mean tolerating illegal actions, breaches of public order, endangering the security of honest people, harassing and terrorizing them under the mantle of democracy. In cases where law is infringed upon, it must be applied inevitably and without delay, regardless of who is involved. This is the affair of the state and the appropriate state bodies and not of pressure groups.

Convincingness and Timeliness Are Crucial in Propaganda

Mass information media—the press, radio, and television—must see their place against the background of the general domestic and international developments. I would like to express appreciation for the work they have done to date. We value it, but also here we must not succumb to self-complacency. There exist shortcomings and a considerable unused potential. There are things to be improved. The times demand more and more.

Information media must be an instrument of the process of restructuring and democratization, its co-organizer, they must ensure the flow of objective information to the public. The work of information media was discussed more than once at the sessions of the Central Committee, especially at the 10th session, as well as by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat in connection with the document on the deepening of public information and practicing open policy. An important discussion was held with you and ranking media personnel last year at which we addressed in detail issues connected with enhancing the effectiveness of the work of the press, radio, and television. This makes it possible for me to concentrate on some particularly topical issues and problems today.

As in all sectors of social life, the qualifications, convincingness, trustworthiness, and timeliness of their public pronouncements is also of decisive importance in the work of journalists, and workers of the radio and television. Together with that, a high degree of political and civic responsibility is of crucial importance when informing the broad public, and when taking standpoints and stances on what is going on in our country and in the world. It must be clear that the media personnel are standing on the positions of socialism.

Today the basic requirement is to deepen the information media's creative, constructive, and organizational work, to offensively help to unite people on the program of restructuring and democratization, and to fulfill tasks on which the program's successful realization depends. Information media must explain in an intelligible way the objectives of the revolutionary changes in the economy, in the life of society, and strengthen people's trust in the policy of the party, the National Front, and the socialist state.

An important demand is to seek out and generalize positive examples, organize an exchange of experience, oppose skepticism and indifference, point out real solutions when dealing with problems and priorities on which the creative potential of the working people must be concentrated. This, of course, does mean abandoning or diminishing criticism of shortcomings in any way. We are in favor of the broad development of criticism, but of criticism which does not simplify matters, does not appraise them onesidedly, but which, on the contrary, exposes their substance, causes, and contexts and which is based on accuracy and reliability of facts, and on profound knowledge of the real state of affairs.

One cannot only open up problems which cause chain reactions without corresponding conclusions and solutions, as it sometimes happens. Such an approach does not mobilize or unite people to creative work but, on the contrary, creates an atmosphere of hopelessness, and reduces people's initiative and interest.

The progress of the restructuring of the economic mechanism must remain at the center of the information media's attention. As you know, we have the first stage of the restructuring of the enterprise sphere behind us. Now we are in the second stage, which should conclude on 31 March 1989. It was preceded by the restructuring of the center. At present a total of 1,539 state enterprises have been established or approved for establishment. More than two-thirds of the workers of the production-technical and the distribution base are employed in them. The important thing is to more extensively generalize the experience acquired from the elections of the self-management bodies and directors, and, especially, from the development of their practical activity under the conditions of the transition to economic accountability and self-financing, from healthy socialist entrepreneurship, which is in harmony with the needs and interests of society and the people.

When explaining our policy, we have to keep a balance in mind. The fundamental direction is, naturally, the deepening of democratization, while at the same time making clear the importance of the fulfillment of duties. Everyone must account for the thing for which he is responsible—this applies to the party, state, economic, and social sphere, and to the ranking personnel at all levels and in all sectors. One must not hide behind the party.

It is necessary to stress the unity and interdependence of the implementation of the tasks of restructuring and the plan for socioeconomic development, and to stress economic and social policy. This requires that attention also be paid to developing society's economic thinking. There are serious shortcomings in this. No one is going to do anything for us, we cannot stall here. We must stress the implementation of the economic tasks, improving the quality and efficiency of production, asserting scientific-technical progress and innovations, reducing costs, strengthening working discipline and organization. This must be done without delay. This is even more urgent, since the results of the past year—despite certain positive trends—have corresponded neither to our needs nor to our potential, especially from the qualitative point of view. Also connected with this is the need to restructure our national economy, a matter that should also help to resolve urgent ecological problems. The structural changes in our economy are connected with its' more extensive involvement in the international division of labor, with the substantial perfection of cooperation with the CEMA member states.

The information media have the important task of explaining the targets of the 1989 plan and, in their way, of contributing to the consequent implementation of the set tasks. It is necessary to once more recall that the economy is the main battlefield on which meeting the needs of society, the contentment of people—of workers, farmers, the intelligentsia, all strata of citizens—is being decided.

Mass information media play an important role when it comes to the preparations for the 18th party congress. In many respects, establishing a creative, offensive atmosphere in society depends on their activity. The information media will be fulfilling particularly responsible tasks in connection with the organization of a nationwide public discussion of the basic congress documents, and also of the political-legal principles of the new CSSR Constitution. One has to keep this in mind and properly prepare for it.

The important thing is that the information media help to implement socialist pluralism of views and broad dialogue in society in practice. Nothing prevents them from providing scope for the crystallization of views—even of a polemical nature, for the honest voice of everyone who wants to seek new ways, contribute his share to resolving the problems and tasks connected with the further development of our society, with strengthening socialist values. However, it is necessary that any discussion, polemics, or dialogue be of a high political standard, that it respect the irreversibility of our country's socialist development.

It is also necessary to purposefully continue to stress the importance of the National Front as the foundation of our political system, and its role and democratic nature. It is necessary to orient attention toward generally applying the experience acquired from applying the stimuli to activate the National Front and the organizations affiliated in it when formulating, implementing, and reviewing policy.

No less important is the demand to pay attention to the experience acquired from the activity of the national committees, from deepening their self-management status, their links with citizens, and from enhancing independence in work, especially the independence of the national committees on the primary level. The objective we pursue is making the national committees truly self-managing, so that on the basis of their own and legal incomes they could decide—together with citizens—how to make use of them to develop villages.

One Must Not Find Itself Upwind

The demand to step up offensiveness also applies to the information media's propagandist and ideological activity against the activation of illegal antisocialist groups, and when it comes to exposing their objectives. One has to react in a matter-of-fact and well-informed manner to problems which the illegal structures are trying to misuse.

Legal propaganda, the education of the general public in legal awareness are of great importance in this connection. It also is necessary to expediently elucidate the nature of our state as a socialist state governed by laws, and issues connected with the implementation of rights and freedoms in our society, which we perceive as the unity of civic and political rights, but also as the unity of social, economic, and cultural rights. Without simplifying the picture of contemporary capitalism, it is necessary to more convincingly show its true development from the perspective of real antitheses, offensively expose violations of human rights in the capitalist countries, especially in the social and political sphere.

The task of the information media is to show the international political contexts of our domestic development. It is necessary to convincingly and without distortion present the experience from the progress of restructuring in the socialist countries, especially in the Soviet Union. A convincing propagation of the peace initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist countries, of Czechoslovakia's active share in asserting new political thinking in international issues, and our specific foreign-political initiatives, is of exceptional importance. It is necessary to correctly explain the decision of the State Defense Council to reduce the number of persons, armaments, and carry out organizational changes in the Czechoslovak People's Army, the significance of making

use of the vacated capacities for social purposes, for the production of consumer goods, in construction, and so forth, and the purpose of these measures in the overall effort of the socialist community for disarmament and strengthening international security.

Next to the central information media, it is necessary to appreciate more the role of the enterprise, district, and regional press and radio, and the high standard and quality of their activity, especially when it comes to resolving specific problems and tasks at workplaces and specific locations.

Regarding the party, I would like to note that the Central Committee, as it has been said several times, puts stress on the correct implementation of its role in society. The party cannot supplant or take responsibility for tasks which the appropriate state, economic, and social bodies and organizations are in charge of and implement. It is, in particular, the ranking personnel, who have been accorded full powers, that bear full responsibility here.

However, party bodies and organizations and the Communists must not stand upwind or devote themselves to issues connected with intraparty work. The decisive thing the present period expects of them is to offensively engage in an extensive and frank dialogue with the people and deepen the links between the party and the working people. The Central Committee regards strengthening the party's ideological, organizational, and action unity as being the fundamental prerequisite for fulfilling the party's historical mission.

In conclusion I would like to say that we are living in a period in which there is much at stake—the further fate of socialism, and socialism fully proving its undoubted advantages and historical perspectives. It is both domestically and internationally a great, complex revolutionary struggle. In this struggle, the ranking party, state, and social bodies fully reckon with the entire journalistic front, with its united, militant, and competent approach. We will provide comprehensive assistance to and support for your responsible work, see to it that the conditions for the activity of the information media are improved, that you are better informed and equipped.

I would like to express the conviction that together we will succeed in mastering the tasks facing us in the interest of strengthening socialism and developing it further.

Husak, Adamec Congratulate Iran on National Day

AU1502105789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Feb 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Receptions, Talks, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] CSSR President Gustav Husak has sent a congratulatory telegram to Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, on the occasion of his country's National Day.

CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec has sent a congratulatory telegram to Iranian Prime Minister, Mir Hoseyn Musavi, on the same occasion.

'Impartial' Explanation of Disturbances Requested

AU1402094689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Feb 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Rights in Harmony With the Fulfillment of Obligations; The Headquarters of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public For Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation is in Prague, Opletalova Street, No. 13"]

[Text] Prague—**The Presidium of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation discussed at its Thursday [9 February] meeting the state of preparations for the development of activity in the implementation of human rights.**

The Presidium listened to a report by representatives of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the final document of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting.

In harmony with its mission the committee will endeavor to insure that the conclusions of the Helsinki conference and the Madrid and Vienna follow-up meetings become accessible to the Czechoslovak public and that the legal guarantees of the effective implementation of human rights and principles of humanitarian cooperation are intensified in the newly adopted laws. In this connection the Presidium will propose at the next meeting of the committee **the convocation of a forum of the Czechoslovak public on the conclusions to the Vienna follow-up meeting and their application in the CSSR and in other participatory countries.** The committee will monitor in our country and in all signatory states the compliance with adopted pledges in the practice of appropriate organs and will participate in the forming of the legal consciousness of citizens, and will contribute to the conscious implementation of basic rights and freedoms in inseperable unity with the responsibilities and obligations which are laid down in international agreements, in the Czechoslovak constitution and laws. While attending to the complaints and notifications of citizens the committee and its members will proceed within the interpretation of Article 29 of the CSSR Constitution on the right to petition.

The mission, tasks, and principles of the activity of the committee, its organs, and members are contained in organizational rules of procedure, the draft of which the Presidium will put to the plenary meeting of the committee for approval. The independence of the committee is guaranteed by the stipulation that its members must not, in connection with the fulfillment of their members' rights and duties, take orders or directions from anyone.

The Presidium voiced its support for cooperation with the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights and for conducting a dialogue with everyone who, in harmony with our constitution, strives for the implementation of human rights and basic freedoms. **In order to guarantee the activity of the committee within the state and in its relationship with foreign nongovernmental organizations working sections were set up. These a include press, editorial, and instructional propaganda section, and sections for dealing with letters, for work with**

members of the committee, for human rights, for humanitarian cooperation, and for international legal questions of human rights. The committee will closely cooperate with scientific and pedagogical institutions and will recommend them to guarantee the qualified research and teaching of the problems of human rights in harmony with the fulfillment of obligations.

During the fulfillment of their tasks the committee and its organs resolve to be guided by principles of objectivity and legality. After a discussion on the events which took place in January of this year in Prague, the Presidium of the committee requested the CSSR and Czech SR general prosecutors to give the committee an impartial explanation on the basis of an analysis of the causes, course, and consequences of these events.

In conclusion, the committee further discussed several organizational questions and stated that work on the implementation of all functions of the committee, its organs, and members had significantly advanced. The headquarters of the committee is in Prague 1, 13 Opletalova Street.

Cooperation With Peace Groups Extended

AU1002134489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Feb 89 p 2

[Jiri Roskot report: "Our Contribution to European Security; On the 40th Anniversary of the Czechoslovak and World Peace Movement"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondent)—In April, 40 years will have passed since the first world congress of defenders of peace in Prague, which gave rise to the establishment of national peace committees. This year the Czechoslovak peace movement will support understanding among nations, disarmament processes, and detente by a number of international and national events. Speaking at a press conference in Prague on Tuesday [7 February], Josef Krejci, acting deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee, mentioned the most important of them. [passage omitted]

Replying to questions, J. Krejci said that the Czechoslovak Peace Committee is not opposed to cooperation with informal peace groups on specific issues, provided, however, that these are not mere protest groups and without any program. On ecological issues, which form part of the security concept, the committee cooperates with nature conservationists in the Czech SR and the Slovak SR, with the Brontosaurus movement, as well as with Czechoslovak groups of the Green Peace and Green Way movements. The Czechoslovak Peace Committee is in contact with the CSSR Government and with the command of the Czechoslovak People's Army, with whom it consults on further possible confidence-building measures.

Delays in Nuclear Program Hit Skoda Concern

AU1402142989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Feb 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Search for the Restoration of Financial Balance"]

[Excerpts] Prague (CTK)—The 38 loss-making enterprises that the CSSR Government charged with working out so-called consolidation programs at the end of last year also include Czechoslovakia's largest engineering giant—the Skoda Plzen concern. [passage omitted]

According to Jiri Kubicek, director of the enterprise, analyses of the enterprise's insolvency confirm that the main causes of this are unrecovered claims. Last September, customers' outstanding bills totalled Kcs1.5 billion and accounted for almost 90 percent of the level of insolvency. Inventories not financially covered accounted for the remaining Kcs200 million by which the Skoda concern is in the red.

The government resolution on consolidation programs must not be perceived as a punitive measure against the enterprise, but rather as a means of coming to terms with problems that negatively affect financial balance.

These problems also include the nuclear program issue. Domestic and foreign investors in nuclear power plants are delaying the taking over of supplies, and are thereby increasing the Skoda concern's inventories. Additional difficulties also arise from this, such as the search for an alternative production program and the retraining of staff. [passage omitted]

Bomb Threat Closes Part of Prague Subway

AU1402140889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Feb 89 p 2

["(KON)"-signed report: "Why the Subway Did Not Run"]

[Text] Prague (from our own correspondent)—During Friday [10 February] afternoon's rush hour part of route C of the Prague subway was out of service for 25 minutes. The technical causes that led to the halting of the service had their own background. It was not a technical breakdown but was the consequence of a further attempt to whip up unrest and spread an atmosphere of fear and terror. At 1355 a telephone conversation was recorded on extension 158 [reserved for emergency calls]. The anonymous caller threatened that there would be an explosion at 1500 in the subway tunnel on Klement Gottwald Bridge. In addition to other measures, service was suspended to a necessary extent so that subway officials and bomb disposal officers from the National Security Corps could carry out a check of the section referred to. No explosive was found and at 1505 full service was resumed on route C.

The thousands of people who wanted to travel at this time on the fully used subway had problems with transportation from work and to their weekend destinations. Meanwhile, the person who dialed the threat remains anonymous.

Pozsgay Reaffirms Stance on 'Popular Uprising'

LD1502222889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Poszgay remarks recorded throughout]

[Excerpts] Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and minister of state, today visited the Paks nuclear power plant where he answered important political questions. Our report was prepared by Eva Denes and Csaba Belenesi:

[Belenesi] [Passage omitted] It was with the help of the nuclear power plant that this sports hall was built, from where we now report and where 1,000 people gathered for the party aktiv. Of those present, first to speak was Dr Szigfrid Peter, first secretary of the Tolna County party committee. He said that the atmosphere is also tense in this region of the country. Uncertainty, mistrust, and bitterness can be felt. Such a major deterioration in the mood can be pinpointed as beginning with the 9 January price increases, and this was further exacerbated by the additional price increases that have been appearing virtually weekly since then. Although in Tolna County there has been no strike or organized protest, people still expect that the burden of the price increases should be eased for them somewhat, and they also expect a more determined interest-protecting stance from the trade unions. Afterward, Szigfrid Peter spoke about local reactions to national political events, mentioning that a big debate was sparked off at the time by the Budapest sports hall speech of Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary, and in the recent past by Imre Pozsgay's statement about 1956. And with this he gave the floor to the guest of the aktiv, Imre Pozsgay.

[Denes] The Politburo member, minister of state, answered a question with a question.

[Pozsgay] What will we achieve if there will be debates here in the party? Without doubt a party and a party membership, which are in any case subject to a heavy spiritual burden, do not of their own accord tend to raise issues in ever newer fields—be it a question of history, or of economic or topical political conditions. Well, they do not like to invoke debates. After all, our plight now is desperate enough. Even so, why continue stirring trouble? Except that, well, we are also responsible. We consider ourselves to be a leading party, responsible for government; and recently, we are more and more frequently being called to account, are we not? One of the basic causes of our troubles—and it is this that I consider to be a really big scandal, and I said this at the Central Committee session as well, and here too I can only put it this way—well, what has been the really big scandal here in this country was never the debate, but the fact that the most erroneous, unimplementable decisions, which led to bankruptcy, were all born unanimously. [sentence as heard] This is the basic cause of our troubles and our problems.

[Denes] Imre Pozsgay then sought an answer to the question of who is responsible for the present situation.

[Pozsgay] I can only speak about this in one way: It is not you people who are responsible. But we are all living in this situation because all throughout we have been suggesting in society that this party does and initiates everything, while its membership's life-force, commitment, and organizational movement have been tied to a bureaucratic direction in the same way as every other part of the country. We had to appear in a reduced role while having to accept responsibility before public opinion for everything that happens in this country. Therefore, we have to make a party in which each and every one of us makes clear what he wants and what he is striving for. And in these debates—if necessary in the struggle between platforms—that which we can accept from our past and that to which we can commit ourselves in the future will emerge. If this happens, then, I repeat, we can go calmly and with head held high among the people, and calmly, as a program-giving force, we can take a stand in society, even on a competition course, because a competition course will ensue.

[Denes] Imre Pozsgay naturally also received several questions in connection with the 1956 events. He pointed out that historical research has to lead to a national reconciliation.

[Pozsgay] People's uprising, as a formula, is fitting because it does not say revolution, it does not say counterrevolution, but what happened. It says that it was an uprising against a system and a power appropriated by its leadership which abused the people's faith, including the faith of the Communists as well. Public opinion is still unaware of important data, important and shameful data, such as, for example, that in this country 600,000 peasants passed through prison and internment camps between 1950 and 1953 under the title of simple near-sightedness or other abuses. If I multiply this with their family members, and if I do not put into the balance the size of the peasant family, even then, in a country of 10 million this affected 2.5 million people. We like to forget this data, but it keeps returning.

[Denes] Only, here the question also arises: What should happen with those who were affected by the events, either on one side or on the other?

[Pozsgay] What I say is that whoever took up arms in 1956 in the token defense of socialism and people's power, and with this motivation and conviction, and who took part in defeating the atrocities which abused the people's uprising, can calmly embrace this concept, and can clearly embrace it in the future as well. Only now he will know more than he knew before—that throughout the fifties his trust and his faith were also abused. And it was also his faith that permitted the arbitrariness which was forced upon this country and which swept the party into defeat. This is what we must know and what we must speak about openly and clearly. Do not now

allow yourselves to be misled again, and to be harnessed to the yoke of retrogade political forces because of your sensitivity and your involvement. Do not allow yourselves to be turned into a basis of reference for a political intention that reverses reform and obstructs progress. Then we will be clear about each other; then we will not have to engage in lawsuits; then there will really be national reconciliation.

[Denes] He continued this thought also in connection with another question.

[Pozsgay] As I know our history, in this country crisis and catastrophe have always resulted from stepping backward, or, to use the current jargon, from restoration [visszarendezodes]. What I said at the November National Assembly session—that without a political reform there will be no economic resurgence in this country—is also true. By now this is so clear that perhaps it is not even worth wasting words on. But to offer political reform as a substitute for bread, that is abuse. To carry out political reform because we cannot give people enough bread, that will not be a good thing. Political reform is not a substitute for backward economic reform and performance. Therefore, in parallel and in line with this, we must carry out an economic-political turnabout which, together with the political reform, will again raise us to the ranks of nations capable of performance, because this performance capacity exists both within this party and within this people. However, our mechanisms drag us back.

[Denes] It is understandable that the Paks party aktiv participants were acutely preoccupied with the thought of the multiparty system. Imre Pozsgay had the following to say about this:

[Pozsgay] We entered the transition to the multiparty system as initiators; well then, how shall we go over to it? After all, it is easy to talk about it but doing it will be very difficult. And here we must not build on the indulgence of the partners, because that is not politics. If the partners spare us from the trials, then again we are back to square one. Then they are not partners, that is not politics, that is not a real multiparty system. But we have to prepare to stand our ground even if there is not much tolerance, even if there is debate. There will be debate; there already is. At the same time, what we can prepare for, and what we can call on the partners to prepare for—be they in a coalition or in opposition—is that we have to pursue an anticatastrophe policy in the country. It cannot be in anybody's interest and I believe that the sober alternatives—independent movements, movements thinking in an oppositional way—also agree on this. They agree, and this could also be a basis for cooperation. In other words, I repeat, an anticatastrophe policy has to be pursued. The political struggle has to be conducted to retain the country's integrity, the internal forms of civilized contact, in such a way that in the meantime signs of prosperity should also appear so that we should again become an advancing nation, both in the economic sense and in the political sense.

[Belenesi] The Politburo member and minister of state will continue his vist to Tolna County tomorrow. In the morning he will visit the Paks nuclear power plant and in the afternoon, in Szekszard, he will meet representatives of intellectuals living there.

Party Rift Averted

LD1602033389 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, took part in the party aktiv held in Paks today. Sandor Leko used the occasion to ask him about something that has been preoccupying public opinion for weeks. And in connection with this, what Karoly Grosz said recently: that he received over 500 letters of which the majority were written by collectives. Of these, 28 supported the minister of state's standpoint and 472 opposed it.

[Begin recording] [Leko] In your view, do the 500 letters mentioned by the general secretary represent the opinion of the party membership, and mainly of society? Have you, too, received letters on this topic? And, with all this, do you see the things you stated in the radio report of ill repute differently today?

[Pozsgay] I, too, have found that the statement made in the "168 Hours" program shocked public opinion. This shock, however, was significant in many different ways, since societal public opinion also nourishes itself from many sources. I do not consider it unnatural either that the party general secretary obtained information and received letters from such groups. And it is perhaps understandable that I found letters of a different kind with the majority expressing solidarity. Moreover, they expressed rejection of the impatient and aggressive voices that evoked certain periods of evil memory. And finally, I believe that from this a kind of balance can be created.

As far as my opinion about the above-mentioned matter is concerned, I have no reason to alter it, since the Central Committee communique also speaks of a real uprising and people's uprising. And I myself have never thought that this happened purely without any accompanying phenomena and without sacrifices. Therefore, the debate, I believe, really has ended with compromise, and the essence of this compromise is that the danger of a party rift has been averted. With averting the danger of a party rift, the party can prepare for a very big task: the transition to the multiparty system, where the people's confidence will have to be weighed by political competition.

I would add only, for it pertains to honor, that I did not practice self-criticism. In this way it gave trust for us to be able to work together on the realization of programs that by now are very important indeed. [end recording]

MSZMP Draft Statement on Multiparty System

LD1602010289 Budapest MTI in English
2258 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (MTI)—Wednesday night, the HSWP Central Committee published a draft policy statement on some topical issues of the reform of the political system. The document stresses that the HSWP set the aim of creating a new Hungarian practice of democratic socialism. The policy statement outlines the reasons and conditions that led to the current economic, political and moral crisis. It recalls that in May 1988 the HSWP national conference created new conditions and formulated the requirement and direction of a turn. Since then, openness has expanded and the democratization and pluralization of the system of political institutions started. These processes emerged with extraordinary speed and created new conditions that are not free of contraditions. The ideas aimed at easing tensions were usually initiated by the HSWP but in some cases, in the course of the processes, had the appearance of subsequent adaptation.

The policy statement establishes that the one-party system did not make it possible to devise alternatives in decision-making and control the mechanism of decision-making by society. This turned large masses away from politics and generated mistrust toward the institutional system.

The Central Committee proposes and initiates the creation of the conditions of a multi-party system and provide constitutional guarantees for the democratic exercise of power on the bacis of a multi-party system. Until that time, a gradual transition, the calculability of political processes and the easing of mistrust are required since both the forced acceleration and the artificial curbing of events would be damaging.

The political movements emerging in society can contribute to solving the tasks faced by the country if, beside the critical manifestations, they prove capable of working out realistic programmes. The nation has a vested interest in choosing from as many programmes as possible.

The HSWP declares its preparedness to hold bilateral and multilateral consultations with all legal organizations in the new manner of exercising power. Conditions for cooperation are the observance of the constitution and the laws, acceptance of the socialist road of social development, and respect for the international alliance affiliations of the country, striving for the simultaneous dissolution of the two military blocks.

The Central Committee set up a work group to prepare for the consultations. The HSWP proposes to coordinate opinions concerning the drafting and the content of the new constitution, and discuss issues related to the elaboration of the electoral system and the creation of social-welfare security. The talks may lead to the creation of a permanent forum of consultations. As a result, the various political factors could take part in the exercise of power as coalition partners.

The document emphasizes that opposition movements and parties within the framework of the constitution may exist.

In the course of transition to a multi-party system, the HSWP overtly declares that, on the basis of its political strength and historical experience, it seeks to play a determinative role. It wishes to guarantee this role through political means, first of all its programme, persuasion, and the personal work and attitude of its members.

To this effect, the party first has to renew itself. It should make its long-term strategy clearer, and work out an election manifesto. In conclusion, the Central Committee asked the party members to discucss this draft policy statement accepted in the February 10-11 session of the Central Committee.

Central Committee Responds to New March Front

LD1602045089 Budapest MTI in English
2101 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (MTI)—The HSWP Central Committee published its answer to the appeal to the New March Front. The Central Committee declared that it agreed with the general political goals of the document "from one-party system to representative democracy". The Central Committee holds it important for the transition not to endanger the stability of the order and the economy of the country. It points it out that the previous processes of reform and democratization and the events that have passed since the party conference proved the HSWP's commitment to a democratic renewal.

The Central Committee advocates the establishment of a forum of political coordination and consultation which would have the fundamental aim of assisting, through continuous dialogue, the drafting of the new constitution and the electoral law. The Central Committee supports the idea that, after approval by parliament, the new constitution should be reconfirmed by a referendum.

In conclusion, the letter of the Central Committee stresses that the conceptual and organizational frames, serving the common goal of establishing a democratic and socialist constitutional state, can be created through a series of dialogue with the new political organizations, on the basis of mutual confidence.

Roundtable Talks on Multiparty System Proposed

LD1602050589 Budapest MTI in English
1824 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (MTI)—Representatives of the New March Front (UMF) and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (SDPH) held talks on the UMF draft proposal on Wednesday.

The SDPH seeks to attend and make proposals at the round-table consultations and talks where the political organizations and representative groups will work out a position, based on consensus, on a course acceptable for the broad strata of Hungarian society, on the political mechanism of multi-party system, and one establishing the institutional system of genuine political democracy. The SDPH delegates pointed out that the talks should be held with emphasis given to the full autonomy of parties, organizations and political groups.

The UMF representatives said that these talks should not be a mere forum of consultation. It would greatly help transition if the participants were authorized to approve positions on fundamental issues.

Grosz Returns From Prague Visit 15 Feb

LD1502230889 Budapest MTI in English 1918 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary, and his entourage returned from Prague to Budapest Wednesday evening. Present at Budapest's Ferihegy Airport was Janos Lukacs, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee.

Nemeth Meets Israeli Religious Affairs Minister

LD1602092689 Budapest MTI in English 1607 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth received Israeli Minister of Religious Affairs Zvulun Hammer, in the parliament building on Wednesday. Hungarian state secretary, President of the State Office for Church Affairs Imre Miklos was also present.

Nemeth Interviewed on Economic Restructuring

AU1502155589 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 15 Feb 89 p 4

[Report on interview with Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth by Erich Feichtinger on 14 February: "Miklos Nemeth: 'We Want To Support the Strong Ones'"—place not given]

[Text] A dark pinstriped suit, which would be suitable for any banker, a black tie, and a snow-white shirt. The only color in this ensemble: the pack of Winstons which he takes out of his jacket at very regular intervals. Miklos Nemeth, Hungary's head of government, presents himself in just the way that can be expected from his biography.

A straight and steep career as an economist is already behind him. First, a graduate of the Economics University in Budapest, from 1971 on, professor for economics, deputy secretary in a department in the planning office, and Central Committee expert for economic questions since 1987. However, in between he did a course at Harvard University.

Some people, when they heard Nemeth say in an interview that he wanted to have a larger number of unemployed in his country, claimed that he picked up too much from that experience.

How should one interpret this, Mr Premier?

He smiles for the first time.

"Well, certainly not in the sense that it is our economy's priority to create high unemployment. I only wanted to point out that desirable and unavoidable restructuring of the economy is accompanied by structural unemployment everywhere in the world. When the number of unemployed rises slightly, then this means that we have made progress in our basic task of restructuring the economy."

However, this has to be seen in one important light. "At the moment there are some 15,000 to 17,000 people without jobs, out of a working population of 5.1 million."

Does a socialist country not have other possibilities to modernize its economy? Without unemployment and without social disadvantages?

"Without increasing efficiency, there would not even be any hope of bringing the problems under control," Nemeth noted. His philosophy: "We want to support the strong ones in the economy in order to raise their incomes, which we can then distribute—particularly to those, who are in need of it."

At the moment, Hungary's political system only "shows some signs of justice, because there is not enough differentiation." There has to be a ruling from above that "those who really need means will be given preferential treatment." At the same time, Hungary relies on "the initiative from below, including the work of the church and the care provided by social organizations."

What about the demands of the trade unions? "These are becoming stronger and stronger here. Some demands are actually justified. However, the government's possibilities are limited, particularly as far as financial means are concerned."

Finally, a few things our neighbors will be pleased to hear: As an enthusiastic builder of bridges between East and West, Nemeth wants to have the fortifications at the border with Austria dismantled in the early nineties, "even though this may create new problems."

Officials Meet Visiting ROK Opposition Leader

Straub, Kim Tae-chung Meet

SK1502011689 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 15 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] Budapest—South Korean opposition leader Kim Tae-chung exchanged views with Bruno Straub, Hungary's head of state, on ways of increasing binational cooperation at the latter's office Tuesday.

Earlier, Kim, the first South Korean political leader ever to visit Hungary, discussed with Istvan Huszar, secretary general of the Patriotic People's Front, exchanges between his Party for Peace and Democracy and Hungary's ruling Social Workers' Party.

Kim asked for Hungary's cooperation with South Korea for the alleviation of tension on the Korean peninsula during his meeting with Huszar, an influential political figure in this Eastern European country.

Kim also visited the Hungarian parliament. He is scheduled to leave Wednesday, for home.

Meets With Gyula Horn

SK1502055089 Seoul YONHAP in English 0539 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, Feb. 15 (YONHAP)—Kim Tae-chung, the first South Korean politician to visit Hungary, met head of state Bruno Straub Tuesday.

Kim, on a four-day private trip to Budapest, explained Korea's policy of improving relations with socialist countries and requested Hungary's assistance in promoting relations with North Korea.

The president of Korea's opposition Party for Peace and Democracy told Straub the establishment of diplomatic relations between South Korea and Hungary will contribute to world peace.

Straub responded that the ties will be helpful in South Korea's efforts to improve relations with other socialist countries and blasted North Korea for its opposition to them.

Kim had lunch later in the day with Secretary of Foreign Affairs Gyula Horn. The two agreed to promote exchanges at the National Assembly and party level and then discussed Korea's participation in Hungary's foundation of an international university.

Kim arrived in Budapest on Feb. 11, and is scheduled to return home Thursday via Moscow and Tokyo after a 17-day tour of five European nations.

MTI Reports on 'Private Visit'

LD1502142189 Budapest MTI in English 0955 GMT 15 Feb 89

["'NEPSZABADSAG'—Interview With Kim Tae-Chung"—MTI headline; quotation marks as received]

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (MTI)—'I'm in Budapest to convey the high regard the South Koreans feel towards Hungary, which recently established diplomatic relations with our country. I'd like our relationship to become cemented on the basis of the interests and advantages we share,' Kim Tae-chung, leader of the peace and democracy party of the Republic of Korea, said in an interview carried in Wednesday's issue of "NEPSZABADSAG". Mr Kim is currently on a private visit to Budapest.

'During my visit, I'll be looking for new ways to develop cooperation between our countries. However, the reinforcement of our relations is by no means directed at a diplomatic isolation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

'South Korea would like to elicit the cooperation of four powers—the Soviet Union, China, the United States and Japan—to ensure peace in the Korean peninsula, which would facilitate an approach between the two Koreas. If the North and the South could arrive at a reconciliation that would be safeguarded by the four powers, we would no longer need the American military presence in the South. I think that the reconciliation between the two Koreas would be a prerequisite for the U.S. troop withdrawal,' said Mr Kim on the settlement of the Korean question.

Asked if he would be visiting North Korea, he replied that there was an inter-parliamentary meeting in the pipeline between the North and the South which would be attended by more than a thousand MPs. He added that, as the first common session was to take place north of the broder, he would be among those travelling to North Korea.

Press Spokesman on Afghanistan, Other Issues

LD1502180989 Budapest MTI in English 1510 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (MTI)—The Hungarian Government noted with satisfaction the completion of the Soviet troop withdrawals from the territory of Afghanistan—in conformity with the stipulations of the Geneva accord—by the stipulated date of February 15th. The consistent fulfilment of the Geneva accord has considerably contributed to the elimination of an international point of crisis that existed for nearly ten years, and to the strengthening of international detente and understanding, stated spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Istvan Komoroczki, at the briefing held

on Wednesday. Afghanistan itself had made important initiatives in the interest of fulfilling the Geneva accord and the unfolding of national reconciliation to bring an end to senseless bloodshed.

In reply to the inquiry by MTI's correspondent, whether the temporary shut down of the Hungarian diplomatic mission in Kabul was a step agreed on previously with the other socialist countries, Mr Komoroczki recalled that the decision was necessitated solely by security reasons. He pointed out that the decision was taken independently by Hungarian diplomacy. Although the other socialist countries were not consulted over the decision, they were informed as Hungary is the first socialist country to temporarily shut down is representation.

The spokesman assessed the international response, set off by [the] standpoint taken by Hungarian parliament, regarding the pope's message on the World Peace Day. As it is known, the pope's message included the improvement of the conditions of the national minorities, the guaranteeing of their rights and the obligations of nations. The document, concerned with one of the most important problems of our age and the fate of several million people, is highly regarded in Hungary.

Hungary, the mother nation of one of Europe's most populous minorities, especially welcomes initiatives for the fulfilment of human rights and its guarantees, the spokesman stated.

On the imminent visit by Columbian Foreign Minister Julio Londono Paredes, the spokesman stated that Hungary is following the democratic changes taking place in Latin-America with great sympathy. He termed it noteworthy that the leaders of the seven Latin-American countries, of greatest international influence, outlined their need to develop relations with the socialist countries during their summit meeting of Punta Del Este, in October last year. During his visit the minister is to discuss current international political issues and the Hungarian side primarily raise the question of developing economic cooperation. Last year the value of trade between the two countries stood at 13.8 million dollars.

With regard to recent articles in the foreign press on Hungarian-South-African relations, MTI's correspondent inquired about the related standpoint of the ministry.

Hungary had voted for and consistently adheres to all UN resolutions condemning the apartheid system. No relations whatsoever are maintained with South-Africa at international forums, and any report to the countrary is unfounded.

As to Hungarian-American relations: Following the visit to the USA by Karoly Grosz there is an upswing of relations. The spokesman visit in Hungary at a convenient date. [sentence as received]

Belchatow Dispute Ends; Other Strikes Continue

Work Resumes in Belchatow

LD1502161289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] A dispute between the workforce and management of the Belchatow rubber industry enterprise Stomil, which lasted for several days, has ended today. Despite the divergence of opinions of both parties the workforce continued work without interruptions.

After yesterday's breaks in work the workforce of a ceramic (?tile) plant in Opoczno is working normally. Talks with the management of the plant are continuing.

However, despite numerous appeals and despite the danger which pay demands constitute to the national economy, the strikes in the Voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise in Piotrkow Trybunalski, as well as in Ostrow Wielkopolski, Sieradz, and Starachowice are continuing.

The strikers' demands have been supported by the Trade Unions Federation Presidium of the Municipal Transport Employees.

Transportion Strikes Continue

LD1502183189 Lodz Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] It is already the 6th day that Piotrkow Trybunalski, Radomsko, Belchatow, Opoczno, and Tomaszow Mazowiecki are without municipal transport. The strike by employees of the Voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise [WPKM] is dragging on, and no new hope for a speedy resolution has arisen. A split has occurred in the strike committee. The leadership has been taken over by a group of Solidarity activists. The Presidium of the National Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Municipal Transport Employees, meeting today in Lodz, adopted the following statement in connection with this:

[Begin recording, unidentified voice] The statement of the Presidium of the National Council of the federation: Today, after 6 days of the strike for higher wages initiated by the trade union of employees of the voivodship transport enterprise in Piotrkow Trybunalski with the full support of the workforce, a symptomatic takeover of the strike action by a group of workers representing the unregistered Solidarity union has taken place.

This is an example of not respecting the agreements of the participants in the roundtable concerning the nonconfrontational system of cooperation in the interests of the work force. In our opinion, this situation was made possible as a result of the competent authorities not dealing urgently with the justified claims of the workforce. [end recording]

[Correspondent] At today's presidium meeting, there was also a report about the situation among the work forces of other transport enterprises in Poland, particularly in Katowice, Ostrow Wielkopolski, Elblag, and Gorzow Wielkopolski. The nonimplementation by the government of an agreement signed in April last year with the federation was discussed. A stance was taken on this matter.

[Begin recording, unidentified voice] The presidium has decided to undertake a protest action, aimed at enforcing the most relevant part of the agreement which has not been implemented by the government, namely the introduction on 1 January 1989 of a modified economic and financial system in municipal transport enterprises. The presidium states that the nonimplementation of this point by the government side has led to a series of protest actions and strikes.

2. [Number as heard] With the aim of halting the development of protest and strike actions, the federation presidium calls upon the government side and regional authorities to immediately take action to end the conflicts which have arisen.

3. With the aim of a partial easing of the wage problem in municipal transport enterprises, we propose to support the decision of 5 May 1988 concerning institutional allowances. We regard the absence of the plenipotentiary, the invited representative of the government presidium, as an act of arrogance by the authorities in relation to the fundamental problems of working people put forward. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The protest action has a national character and will be commenced within 24 hours of the date of publication.

[Annnouncer] A moment ago, we received an appeal from the Piotrkow Voivoda, Mieczyslaw Szulc.

[Begin Szulc recording] In connection with your strike, the situation and the mood of society is deteriorating from one day to the next. I appeal to the whole WPKM workforce, to your common sense, to stop this strike. We will solve this problem with the help of the Council for Public Arbitration with the Voivodship Court in Piotrkow Trybunalski. Restore the normal functioning of life in our towns. Accept today those financial proposals which we can currently afford. I earnestly appeal to the whole work force, in your collective wisdom and for the personal suppression of internal resistance and indecision in the name of the good and interest of the society of Piotrkow Voivodship. We are open to all kinds of talks and initiatives for the speedy resolution of the conflict within the framework of the currently presented proposals. [end recording]

Sieradz Transport Workers Strike

LD1502174589 Lodz Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] At 1300, the workforce of the Urban Transport Enterprise in Sieradz went on strike. In connection with this, no buses are running in Zdunska Wola, Lask, or Sieradz. The strike committee, which is made up of representatives of the trade unions, and the Factory Party Organization, has put forward a demand for an increase in the personal grade rates from Z200 to Z300. The management has proposed Z250, being aware of the effects resulting from taxation. The strike committee did not accept this proposal. Substitute transport has already started running in Sieradz Voivodship. It is made up of factory vehicles.

Works Stops at Morfeo Plant

LD1502174489 Lodz Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Since 1300 yesterday, a strike has been in progress in the Morfeo cotton industry plant in Ozorkow. The strike committee has put forward 33 demands, some of which concern pay, such as a pay increase of Z35,804. The management has proposed Z8,000, which will cause a loss of profit for division amounting to Z225 billion. In January, Morfeo's workforce got an average pay rise of Z19,252. From tomorrow, the bank has threatened to stop giving credits.

Ambulance Workers Continue Strike

AU1502161289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Feb 89 p 2

[Report by Henryk Heller: "The Staff of the Poznan Emergency Medical Unit Are Rejecting Wage Increases"]

[Text] The protest by the doctors and orderlies of the Voivodship Emergency Medical Unit in Poznan is continuing. The doctors are not working extra shifts, and the orderlies are not working overtime.

For some time already, all emergency medical units have suffered from a reduced level of staff. A failure by these people to work normally is causing disruptions to ambulance service.

"We are working in accordance with our work schedules, except for overtime," a dispatcher at the headquarters of the Voivodship Emergency Medical Unit told TRYBUNA LUDU. "We have adopted this course of action because we have exhausted all official ways of trying to achieve an improvement to our working conditions and wages. We have still received no reply. The proposed wages are unacceptable financially and in principle."

I talk to the duty medical officer. "We are performing the duties we are meant to perform as a medical unit; in other words, we are not allowing dangers to the life and health of patients who need transportation to hospital or to a first aid point. But the very fact that we have been forced to restrict our activity to normal working hours reduces the efficiency of our service to patients."

It is sad that these words come from the mouth of a health service representative who knows best how essential the duties of this professional group are.

By the way, there was a "Solidarity" banner affixed to the front of the medical unit building.

Seamen's Union Begins Dispute

AU1402161989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Feb 89 p 2

[Report signed "hrp": "Collective Dispute at the Polish Steamship Company"]

[Text] Szczecin—The Seamen's Union at the Polish Steamship Company has instituted a collective dispute over wages. As we learned from the union's chairman, Marek Kozlowski, higher wages were to be introduced on 1 February. However, nothing of the kind has happened.

M. Kozlowski said: "We have come up with the funds to cover the raises. Unfortunately, despite our suggestions and proposals, principles for the raises have not yet been fixed and no proper work assessment has been conducted. That is why we had to resort to this form of protest action."

At the same time, union members at the Polish Steamship Company say that they are aware of the country's difficult economic position and will not take strike action.

Management and the Polish Steamship Company have assured union members that wage negotiations will start on 10 February.

Urban on News Conference on Strikes, Roundtable

AU1502182489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11-12 Feb 89 p 3

[PAP report on news conference by government spokesman Jerzy Urban in Warsaw on 10 February: "The Strike Situation, Wage Disputes, the 'Roundtable'"]

[Text] Following the first meeting of the "roundtable" political reform team on 10 February, the meeting's participants and press spokesmen spoke to the press.

Jerzy Urban commenced his meeting with a commentary on the strike situation in Poland.

He said that enterprise managements are parties to the wage disputes, not the government. We think the strikes for higher wages are very unfavorable from an economic point of view. They are not rational, either. Everyone is going to receive pay raises in any case. Wages are due to increase by up to 40 percent this year.

There is a general conviction that he who strikes achieves something, J. Urban continued. Generally speaking, that is not the case. I do not mean to say that all management decisions made under the pressure of strikes are economically sound. One example of an unsound decision is the

one made at the Belchatow coal mine during the strike, whereby the management agreed to distribute equally the funds that had been made available for the agreed-on pay raises, forgetting about the principle of compensation according to one's work output. I wish to stress that nowhere have managements exceeded their authority concerning wages, therefore the work forces have gained nothing except a faster or different distribution of funds than planned.

If some management breaks the rules of the economic game, it will have to rectify the situation on its own, because the results of this will have a bearing on the enterprise's economic situation. The government will never grant any subsidies or concessions in cases like this; it has even abolished the legal possibilities of doing so.

I am saying all this in order to explain the rules of the economic game, and to deny the current view whereby he who strikes gains something and that the government provides compensation out of the state budget for the losses incurred by enterprises suffering from strikes. That is not so. Strikes are very unfavorable because they cause production losses and disrupt normal negotiations concerning wages. In fact, strikes hit at the reform itself, because they are a violation of its rules. I do not mean to say that strikers are never right. We note that in many cases, the claims of strikers are justified. However, the strike method itself is very harmful for the economy and for the process of coexistence between work forces and management.

J. Urban also said that the government generally finds wage strikes disturbing because wages rose considerably in December. Last year, nominal wages increased by about 15 percent more than prices. If there is such strong wage pressure in a situation like this, fears of higher inflation are justified.

Next, J. Urban discussed the press conference held on Thursday by Janusz Onyszkiewicz, who criticized the government spokesman for using the same kind of language as in 1981 when speaking about the situation in Belchatow, and accused the authorities of holding a monopoly over the mass media because television did not show Pietrzyk reading his statement to the miners of Belchatow. To this, Urban said that Polish society must realize that members of the opposition have broad access to the media right now. However, I cannot say how much access they have, because nobody has ever measured it with a tape measure, he said. Therefore, Onyszkiewicz's complaints do not concern the present situation at all. They seem to be the continuation of an old habit. In any case, Pietrzyk's statement was conveyed by PAP and Polish Radio to all those that they reach at home and abroad. It was also published in TRYBUNA LUDU, RZECZPOSPOLITA, SZTANDAR MLODYCH, and the regional press. So one can say that public opinion became acquainted with the statement by Alojzy Pietrzak about his role in the Belchatow strike. However, nobody is in a position to guarantee that every single statement by every single "roundtable" participant will appear on the television news, which is only 30 minutes long. No one on the government side has made such a promise. By the way, a Polish television team did want to report on events at Belchatow, but was not admitted to the mine. Therefore, the accusation about a monopoly is not a very appropriate one.

J. Urban also discussed accusations whereby he had said that Alojzy Pietrzyk spoke on behalf of Lech Walesa and encouraged the Belchatow miners to strike, whereas in fact Pietrzyk was instrumental in ending this strike. I do not intend to discuss Pietrzyk's intentions, said J. Urban. However, I consider the fact that a strike is led by a representative of "Solidarity's" Lodz chapter, and the fact that Pietrzyk called upon the miners not to give in, to be a way of supporting the strike. What is more, it is disturbing that a "roundtable" participant suddenly appears as an instigator of strikes. The fact is that my statement, which indicated a certain undesirable connection between the "roundtable" talks on the one hand and speeches of encouragement to strikers on the other, caused a certain amount of consternation, made people realize that this strike possessed political undertones, and helped achieve a compromise solution to the strike.

J. Urban also told journalists about the meeting of the political reform team.

Finally, he replied to over a dozen questions.

[Question] Yesterday and today, Lech Walesa called on workers not to strike. Is the government pleased with such an attitude by Walesa? On the other hand, it is the official trade unions that are behind most of the strikes in Poland? Is the government prepared to condemn Miodowicz's unions?

[Urban] Of course the government is pleased that Walesa is against the strikes. The government is pleased with anyone who opposes anarchical ways of resolving issues in an economy that is in a difficult period. The very mechanism of strikes and the nervous climate generated by them serve to reduce economic turnover. The agreement signed by the management in Belchatow exceeded the framework of the law itself, for it was concluded with the "Solidarity" mine branch. Therefore, the OPZZ was not behind it. The OPZZ dissociated itself from the strike because it was a violation of the agreement reached with the work force and signed by the official mine trade union. I have no information whereby the present strikes have been organized by trade unions belonging to the OPZZ. An exception is the dispute in the Piotrkow municipal transportation enterprise, to which an OPZZ trade union is a party.

[Question] As far as we know, the agreement in Belchatow is a great success, because the pay raises will only be Z21,000, which is even less than the management was prepared to give. This agreement was signed by the mine's "Solidarity" branch, which arose on the very day

that representatives of the social side arrived at Belchatow. Surely this is a success because the situation was very dangerous economically. Therefore, is it not in the government's interests to show on television the fact that the work forces are becoming disciplined and are capable of signing agreements and resuming work?

[Urban] You are right. The agreement does not exceed what was agreed on previously and what the workers would have received in any case. I agree that television should show the end of the strike. The problem is that the strikers did not let a Polish TV crew into the mine, but they did let several Western crews in. Polish TV has protested.

[Question] One of the conditions for the legalization of "Solidarity" is that "Solidarity" must agree to the nonconfrontational nature of future elections. "Solidarity" claims that such a concept has never been defined. Could you define it?

[Urban] The concept of nonconfrontational elections is indeed vague. It is a political concept, not a legal one. In fact, the political reform team today decided that it would present and discuss a full definition of this concept at its next meeting. The point is not to provide a mere definition of this word, but to apply it to the practical context of elections. The point is to provide this word with substance.

[Question] B. Geremek has said in an interview that it is possible that in the next election, 50 percent of the seats will be on the government list, and the remainder will be subject to free competition. Would this be acceptable to the authorities?

[Urban] Any talk of a government list is premature. This must be one of Geremek's ideas. We have still not presented any draft election rules. Of course we find it unacceptable that there should be two systems of electing deputies to one Sejm.

[Question] You told PRAVDA that most of the party apparatus was against the Central Committee stance on trade union pluralism. The party was divided. In that case, what social forces is the government counting on in order to implement this stance?

[Urban] I said that most of the PZPR apparatus remembered the situation in 1981 and opposed the idea of permitting trade union pluralism right now. I based what I said on the results of opinion polls. In any case, these polls did not place the party apparatus in a different category. As far as I remember, opinions were divided inside the party apparatus, but this is a natural occurrence, and this division was reflected in the voting on the Central Committee stance on trade union pluralism. However, it seems to me that the result of the voting is already a political event as far as progress in political pluralism is concerned. Second, the party pursues the principle that differences in view are permitted, and this is no theory. However, there is also the principle that the stance of the majority is the stance that is binding. Such rules of the game exist inside most democratic organizations. In that case, one can expect that in pursuing its policies, the party will be able to base itself on the views of the majority of its members. We know that the policy contained in the Central Committee stance enjoys greater support among society than it does inside the party itself. A policy of more radical reforms and changes serves to attract people to it and hence expand the base of authority, although a certain distortion also occurs when important decisions are made. As far as I know, several dozen party members surrendered their membership cards as a result of the plenum decision. In other words, passive expression of disapproval by leaving the party was not great.

[Question] Were there any differences in opinion during the meeting of the political reform team?

[Urban] There were no substantial negotiations today, merely a resume of opinions. Basically, every single speaker possessed his own opinion. For example, the representative of the Christian—Social Union said that the idea of accelerated elections is wrong, and that the office of president of the republic is a subject that belongs to the more distant future. Rather vague and personal views of the future were presented. Various people put forth different assessments about the past. This is a problem that haunts the work of the "roundtable" and all its teams. However, one can also talk confidently about consensuses. There was a consensus about the way in which to restructure political relations and forms, and about the degree to which these should be safeguarded. For example, everyone rejected the idea of so-called strike democracy.

[Question] Are you not afraid of young people's radicalism? Are you not afraid that the young generation will consider the "roundtable" to be an accord between elites, an agreement between dinosaurs?

[Urban] If this radicalism is to assume a destructive shape instead of a constructive one, I think you ought to be more afraid of it than me. After all, you are much younger than I am, and you will be suffering longer. There is no doubt that if a body of intellectuals, unofficial leaders of the opposition, and representatives of the authorities sit down at one table, then in a certain sense they are all an elite. Social forces tend to communicate with each other via their elites. If the "roundtable" accord is superseded by a broader social accord, then of course the "roundtable" will find itself in a social vacuum. Such a danger might occur.

[Question] Are there any results of opinion polls that gauge society's interest in the "roundtable"?

[Urban] I have at my disposal the results of polls conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center. I have just obtained them, and I have not had time to

analyze them yet. However, but I do know that the question whether the "roundtable" will lead to an improvement in Poland's situation was answered as follows: 12 percent said yes, 52 percent said it probably will, 22 percent said probably not, and 6 percent said definitely not. In other words, most people think that the talks will improve the situation in Poland. However, these are not all firm views, for most people said that they will probably improve the situation. Some 68 percent of the respondents watched the start of the "roundtable" on television. Of these, 75 percent watched both parts of the coverage. This is a considerable number of viewers, over twice as high as the rates concerning my press conferences.

Baka on Roundtable Socioeconomic Meeting

AU1502190989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Feb 89 p 3

[Statement by Wladyslaw Baka, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and member of the roundtable team for economic and social policy, during a break in the meeting of this team in Warsaw on 8 February]

[Text] Our talks have only just begun. I believe that the National Economic Consolidation Plan, which presents a strategy of economic activity, should form the basis of our talks. However, I do not mean to say that the plan is immutable. On the contrary, as a result of criticism voiced during our talks, it may turn out that some of the plan objectives can be attained more quickly and cheaply than is presented in the plan. In such a case, we would not hesitate to change the plan accordingly.

We also expect reactions to the feasibility of this plan and to the conditions governing its implementation. For example, I believe that rises in incomes must be slowed down, which must not involve a drop in the standard of living. A future rise in the standard of living cannot consist of an endless race between prices and incomes, because the economically weakest members of society would lose in that race.

I am convinced that the "roundtable," including the talks by our team, are permitting an acceleration of the reforms, especially as far as a consolidation of the social forces in favor of these reforms is concerned. The concept of a profound restructuring of the economy, its promarket orientation, changes in forms of ownership, the abolition of monopolies, and the closure of inefficient enterprises must upset existing social arrangements. Therefore, this restructuring must meet not only with understanding, but also with support. That is our great chance.

Today's talks have confirmed that we have similar views on the subject of socioeconomic goals. However, it is too soon to draw any far-reaching conclusions from this. Some features in today's speeches require explanation. I repeat, this is just the beginning of our work.

Members of Team Noted

AU1502161089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Feb 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Composition of the Team"]

[Text] Here is a list of members of the "roundtable" team for economic and social policy:

Wladyslaw Baka, Janusz Beksiak, Ryszard Bugaj, Zbigniew Bujak, Stanislaw Dlugosz, Mieczyslaw Gil, Ryszard Gorycki, Helena Goralska, Jerzy Gruchalski, Gabriel Janowski, Cezary Jozefiak, Jan Kaczmarek, Jozef Kaleta, Grzegorz Kolodzko, Jan Kolodziejczak, Wincenty Lewandowski, Maciej Manicki, Waclaw Martyniuk, Jan Mujzel, Andrzej Olechowski, Kazimierz Olesiak, Jozef Okuniewski, Aleksander Paszynski, Antoni Rajkiewicz, Jan Rosner, Zdzislaw Sadowski, Ireneusz Sekula, Grazyna Staniszewska, Tomasz Stankiewicz, Andrzej Stelmachowski, Karol Szwarc, Wladyslaw Szymanski, Marcin Swiecicki, Andrzej Topinski, Witold Trzeciakowski, Andrzej Wieczorek, Andrzej Wielowieyski, Mieczyslaw Wilczek, Henryk Witkowski, and Irena Woycicka.

Members of Trade Union Pluralism Team Listed

AU1502160889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Feb 89 p 3

[PAP report: "Composition of the Team"]

[Text] The trade union pluralism team is chaired by the following: Aleksander Kwasniewski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and Romuald Sosnowski. The following is the full composition:

Artur Balazs, Jan Brol, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Witold Goralski, Ludwik Gracel, Stanislaw Jagiello, Janusz Jarlinski, Lech Kaczynski, Jacek Krzyzanowski, Wladyslaw Liwak, Maciej Lubczynski, Stanislaw Majewski, Walery Masewicz, Harald matuszewski, Tadeusz mazowiecki, Albin Melcer, Jacek Merkel, Leslaw Nawacki, Alojzy Pietrzyk, Edward Radziewicz, Tadeusz Raczkiewicz, Walery Jan Sanetra, Wladyslaw Serafin, Romuald Sosnowski, Edward Szwajkiewicz, Jozef Slisz, Anatol Wasilew, Stanislaw Wisniewski, Jan Wolek, and Henryk Wujec.

RFE Broadcasts Independence Party Declarations

LD1102213689 Warsaw PAP in English 1909 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 11—In the days when the "roundtable" debates were inaugurated their unusual nature and significance were stressed by mass media at home and abroad. At the same time, on February 8, the Radio Free Europe broadcast a declaration of the so-called Polish Independence Party (PPN) which "rejected with absolute resoluteness an agreement with Poland's Communist authorities". Next sentences of the statement—in a way typical of such enunciations—condemn altogether the period of the 40 recent years of Poland's history.

On the one hand we are dealing with hopeful theses on the need of national agreement for establishing an effective proreformatory coalition in Poland. It was stressed both in initial statements by representatives of all groups taking part in the "roundtable" debates and during press conferences held every day—despite disputes which are natural in such situations—by 7 permanent press spokesmen representing groups participating in the "roundtable".

On the other hand there are madmen who are doing their best to torpedo the entire process of the "roundtable". Some of them organize street demonstrations, others print small leaflets whose contents are later read out by the Radio Free Europe programmes.

So far no one has noticed an organization called the Polish Independence Party. So the Radio Free Europe broadcast—in its regular programme "The Panorama of a Day" and not in a programme of debuts—words of this group or grouping fighting against agreement: "We warn (you) that the acceptance of conditions which in the opinion of the Polish authorities make it possible te legalize NSZZ 'Solidarity' will mean a betrayal of ideals for which 'Solidarity' was established. We do not want any talks with the Communist government..."

The ideas formulated a language which is not very correct Polish and resemble statements made earlier by the so-called fighting "Solidarity".

OPZZ Head Denies Hostility Toward Solidarity

LD1502181989 Warsaw PAP in English
1603 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 15—"We are happy that our colleagues from 'Solidarity' have at last perceived what we have long been talking about and warning against—the deteriorating situation of working people, Polish families, and pensioners, and the natural human fear for tomorrow (...) all underlie the emergence of social conflicts," said vice-chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ Romuald Sosnowski in a statement made in connection with the stand of the leaders of "Solidarity" presented Feb 14 by Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

"I know nothing of any instance of hostile moves being made by the OPZZ against 'Solidarity', unless what they mean is yesterday's statement by our spokesman in which he demanded respect for all representatives of various milieux taking part in the roundtable," Sosnowski said.

"Referring to the statements and commentaries accompanying the roundtable debates, he also expressed concern that by fighting one monopoly you can get into another," Sosnowski added.

"We have never inspired to appropriate names or symbols. We also resolutely deny allegations against our provoking strikes. We have not taken a seat at a table where a game is being played. We counted on that we would participate in an exchange of arguments and views with the curtain raised.

"The OPZZ has never incited anyone to hold protest actions due to the simple fact that our structure is different. We are not a centralized organization. We are only a democratically elected representation of trade unions," the OPZZ vice-chairman stated.

Walesa Visits Stalowa Wola, Meets Inhabitants

LD1602094689 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 2300 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] During yesterday's meeting with inhabitants of Stalowa Wola, Lech Walesa said that he was visiting this city was to hear observations and proposals concerning the most effective means of achieving the common goal, which is national agreement. He said the roundtable presented a great opportunity. Lech Walesa also discussed the approaching elections to the Sejm and problems of underinvestment in farming. Asked about possible participation in the approaching elections to the Sejm, he stated that he would not boycott them, as there was no longer any reason to do so.

Rakowski Holds Talks With Mitterrand, Others

LD1502235889 Warsaw PAP in English
2302 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Paris Feb 15—Today, on the second day of his working visit to Paris, Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski was received by president of the French republic Francois Mitterrand at the Palais de l'Elysee. Rakowski has recently met with Mitterrand during the celebrations marking the 75th birthday of Willy Brandt. Mitterrand is to visit Poland this June.

The head of Polish Government held also an hour-long talk with France's Premier Michel Rocard, in the Matignon Palace. The talk, proceeding in a very good atmosphere, focused on broadly understood economic relations between Poland and France. Rakowski invited Rocard to pay an official visit to Poland. The date of the visit will be settled at a later term.

Poland's premier held also a talk with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, in Polish Embassy here.

In the evening, Rakowski met, also in the Polish Embassy, with prominent figures of French economic and financial circles.

On the second day of his French visit, Poland's premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski took part in an inaugural session of French-Polish chambers of Industry and Commerce.

The newly founded chamber groups over 100 French enterprises and banks representing various sectors of economy. The Polish side is represented by Polish chamber of Foreign Trade which is a composite member. Only a dozen- or-so countries-economic partners of France have such chambers.

In the session participated presidents, directors general and managers of some 250 French concerns and banks.

Rakowski was welcomed by the President of the Paris chamber Jean Cabournac and President of the French-Polish chamber Jean Zarzecki, a renowned Polonian activist.

I know that you invited me to Paris with an eye to the gamut of issues of economic cooperation of France and Poland. However—as it is well known to everybody—nowadays economy and politics cannot be separated from each other. This means that the visit of the head of Polish Government to the capital of France is also of political character, and a clear proof of this are my talks with President of France Francois Mitterrand, French Premier Michel Rocard, Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, Pierre Mauroy and Georges Marchais, Rakowski said.

I do not intend to conceal our bitter disappointment with the current state of Polish-French relations, also in the field of economy. I would like to recall that in the seventies France ranked second or third among Polish partners, while nowadays it is approximatedly on the seventh place. Our chief partner is the FRG, followed by Great Britain and Austria. I would like to say that I do not expect love in politics, from anyone. This feeling, as you know well, is permeated by emotions—and I would like to remain a cool-headed realist. Today, I would like that Poland's foreign partners say which Poland seems more agreeable to Europe: A Poland which has turned towards the democratization of political relations and simultaneously is striving with all her might for establishing of stable economic and political order, or a Poland which all day long discusses democracy, glorifies freedom and gladly falls under the spell of myths while being oblivious to the need of broad social discipline, necessary renouncements and the need to restrict one's own ambitions. Obviously, I prefer, personally, the former Poland. The latter—well, it looks tempting, it may even move people to tears or to applause to the honour of "those brave Poles"—but that is all.

Premier Rakowski went on to say that it will be not easy for the government to achieve targets it laid down. Then, the prime minister stressed that the debt servicing puts a serious burden on the current consumption, halts the speed of introducing economic reforms and limits the possibilities of the pro-export restructuring of production.

The to-date negative attitude on the part of the Paris Club and the lack of political will to seek a comprehensive settlement of the problem have left Poland forced to undertake obligations which it is unable to fulfil. We want to ever fuller service out debt, assigning for this purpose a reasonable part of the growing export profits.

Voicing regret over the degradation of Poland's economic cooperation with France, the turnover of which despite a slight increase totalled in 1988 in U.S. dollars 50 per cent of the 1980 exchange, the prime minister said that the causes of such a state consist in weak activity of French firms at the Polish market, passiveness of French Banks in financing French exports to Poland—quite contrary to a more lively activity in this respect of banks of other Western countries—and also in the lack of incentives on the part of administration that earlier used to play an important role in promoting turnover and economic cooperation.

PAP correspondent in Paris Robert Bielecki reports that Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski stressed in his statement for the press the excellent atmosphere of his meetings with French politicians and the kindness and understanding they had for the Polish problems.

Francois Mitterrand, Rakowski told the press, expressed appreciation for the internal changes which are taking place in Poland. The French president had agreed to Rakowski's opinion voiced earlier that all that happens in Poland today is significant not only to her but also to the whole Europe.

Rakowski went on to say that the French President had said in a conversation at the Elysee Palace that France is ready to play the role of a coordinator in solving the problems of the Polish debt both on the forum of the Paris Club, over which France presides, and in the EEC over which France will preside after July 1.

The details of these solutions, the Polish prime minister continued, was discussed at Finance Minister Andrzej Wroblewski's meeting in Paris last Tuesday. These questions and concrete proposals related to them will be among the main topics of the visit to be paid by the French state leader to Poland. The president of France confirmed his arrival in the middle of June.

Sejm Concludes Debate, Adopts Budget Law

LD1502200989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen. The state economy and finances are the subject of today's 7-hour long Sejm debate. [passage omitted]

For almost 30 minutes voting took place here in the Sejm. The deputies adopted the budget law for this year with 12 votes against and 18 abstentions; a resolution on the state balance of payments; a resolution on the population's balance of income and expenditure; the credit plan and guidelines for monetary and credit policy; the plan for the central cultural development fund; the professional activization state fund plan; the central science and technology development fund; the foreign debt servicing fund; the law on export development fund; and the currency law. The last one on this list was adopted with 5 votes against the 13 abstentions. [passage omitted]

15 Feb Session Detailed

LD1602002189 Warsaw PAP in English
2351 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 15—The 11th of November is to be national day of independence, the day free from work. The 1989 state budget has been passed. The economic legislation comprised, inter alia, the new law on hard currency. At the motion of the Sejm committees the parliament removed from the agenda the draft law on "certain conditions of national economy consolidation and on amending certain laws" as the committees considered it necessary to continue the works aimed at specifying certain items of the draft. The above mentioned are some of Sejm's decisions taken at its today's session.

The next debate of the parliament is to be held on Feb 24 and will focus on foreign policy and four laws on agriculture.

Deputy Mieczyslaw Buziewicz (United Peasant's Party) presented budget bill for the year 1989 and financial draft plans supplementing it. He said in part:

"Despite the assumed positive relations of economic development the budget bill and financial draft plans presented to the Sejm by the government show a considerable imbalance which points out to the persisting lack of economic-financial equilibrium in Poland.

"The budget bill shows the amount of incomes and expenditure of the state budget. The incomes of 17,206 billion zlotys are higher than the expected performance in 1988 by 73.3 per cent. The expenditure from the state budget is to amount to 18,204 billion zlotys and will grow by 82.6 per cent as compared with last year. Subsidies to goods' and public services' prices constitute the budget's biggest item and amount to 4,170 billion zlotys.

"The deficit in the draft state budget presented by the government amounted to 1,058 billion zlotys. The Sejm committee for economic plan, budget and finances pointed out to the possibility of reducing it as the deficit constituting 6 per cent of expenditure is the highest since 1982. Each budget deficit amplifies inflation. After the changes in the budget incomes and expenditure calculations, the deficit in the state budget is expected to amount to 998.044 billion zlotys.

"The 1989 state balance of payments has been worked out on the basis of arrangements adopted in the central annual plan in the sphere of foreign trade and the assessment of the shape of international payments in 1988.

"The balance of payments in inconvertible currencies with socialist countries shows positive tendencies as it causes a further improvement in the balance of current turnovers. The surplus which for the first time in many years is to amount to 150 million transfer roubles will double in 1989. As a result, not only has the growth of debt been arrested, but it is going down from 6.6 billion roubles in 1988 to reach 6.1 billion roubles by the end of 1989.

"A very complicated situation persists in the sphere of payments in capitalist countries' currencies. Particularly, the expected growth of deficit of current turnovers from 525 million dollars at the end of 1988 to 820 million dollars by the end of 1989, draws attention. This is a phenomenon which questions the possibility of balancing within the coming years the current turnovers which in turn will make our contacts with Western creditors more difficult," Deputy Buziewicz said.

Deputy Zdzislaw Skakuj (Independent) presented government draft laws on the fund of servicing the foreign debt and on the fund of export development. He stated that the draft and other economic laws that have been already adopted constitute a logical whole. This consists in making legal regulations that help our economy fall into line with requirements of the economic effectiveness based on the operation of the market rules, with the reasonable possibility preserved for the state administration to interfere whenever it is needed.

The fund of financing the foreign debt is a state organizational unit that posseses a legal status. The main income of the fund, according to the draft, will be subsidies from the state budget to total some 1,024 billion zlotys. This means that the burden of debt servicing is to be moved from the socialized-economy units to all citizens who will pay taxes and other dues to the state budget. The fund's activity will be subject to the Sejm's supervision and control.

In another point on the agenda, Deputy Tadeusz Lodykowski (PUWP) presented a report of the committee for the Economic Plan, Budget and finances, the Committee of the foreign Economic Cooperation and the Committee of Legislatory Works on the Government Draft Law on Hard Currency.

The new law on hard currency, he said, is a serious step on the road to the liberalization of hard currency trade, creating of elements of a hard currency market and conditions for a gradual introduction of internal convertibility of the zloty. The draft law puts an end to a legal fiction that forbids Polish citizens posses and trade in foreign currencies.

Natural persons will be able to freely trade in foreign currencies at a free-market rate at currency offices run according to commercial principles on the basis of a NBP (National Bank of Poland) permission. Till now, according to the binding rules, old age and disability pensions granted by foreign insurance firms to Polish natural persons are payed in Polish zlotys according to an official rate. After numerous discussions, it was

settled that the limit of the obligatory reselling of a pension to the hard currency bank will total 60 percent while the remaining 40 percent will be paid to a pensionholder in foreign currency.

The next point on the agenda was to be a report by committees of: legislative works, economic plan, budget and finances and self-government works on the draft law on conditions for consolidating the national economy and changes of some laws. Taking the floor on behalf of these three committees, Deputy-Rapporteur Jozef Kiszka (PUWP) put forward a motion to remove this point from the agenda. He said that the committees deemed it necessary to continue work on some entries of the draft. The Sejm accepted the motion.

The discussion on the presented bills followed. The floor was taken by Deputy Eugeniusz Malinowski (PUWP) who said that in view of the lack of an alternative, the PUWP Sejm caucus supports the drafts under examination and suggested the undertaking of a few important actions by the government and National Bank of Poland. Firstly, there is a necessity to eliminate subsidies, with the simultaneous transfering of the gained means to pay rises. Secondly, the government should be very careful in granting tax reductions for credits taking into account modest budgetary possibilities. Thirdly, there is an urgent need to halt the excessive growth of prices and pays in the material sphere in the shortest possible time.

Deputy Stanislaw Partyla speaking on behalf of the UPP Sejm caucas said that the draft budget law and the related financial plans cause anxiety over the size of the budget deficit, growing inflation and lack of market equilibrium. The size of disequilibrium is too big and that is why one should seek solutions that provide changes in the structure of subsidies already during the implementaiton of the budget. One should also strive to introduce market mechanisms in the shortest possible time. The deputy voiced his concern over the growing pay demands by employees of many enterprises.

On behalf of the Democratic Party caucus the floor was taken by Deputy Jozef Szawiec who said that the main source of budgetary incomes are inflows from socialized economy units and pointed to the possibilities of increasing incomes from the non-socialized economy. As the condition he named the consistently implemented rule of the freedom of taking up economic activity. He called for bolder steps in turning unprofitable state-run units into private ones, especially the smaller units which function in trade and services. Voicing concern over a high budgetary deficit, he suggested to issue state bonds.

Deputy Alfred Wawrzyniak (Independent, Pax) said that although new concepts are seen in some spheres of the government's activity, the sphere of financial policy is outdated. The construction of a budget and the contents of the budget law should to a higher degree meet the requirements of the reformed economy and help implement the goals of the economic and social policy of the government.

Deputy Ryszard Bender (Independent) said that economic issues and poverty that is affecting the country despite attempts to counteract it, made also by the present government, attract the attention also of the Sejm. Over the recent weeks, one Sejm committee after another kept rejecting draft budgets of individual ministries as ones that do not meet social expectations. The Sejm will decide what will happen to the central budget. The zloty is losing its purchasing power. Is the finance minister really not able to halt the galloping inflation even in a small scope? Such efforts should be made today without waiting for the new economic and political reality.

The deputy voiced protest against the plan to construct a nuclear power plant near Kazimierz nad Wisla (on the vistula).

The fact that Minister Kiszczak and Lech Walesa inaugurated the roundtable debate ten days ago will become a historic one, Bender said. Mazowiecki and Stomma—who sat in this chamber years ago—returned to the current of Poland's political life. The point is that genuine political pluralism should exist in Poland like it did before and shortly after the war. The future Sejm will contain the governmental majority made of PUWP, UPP and DP with some influence exerted by the opposition on the government and state control. We hear more today about association but they cannot substitute for political parties.

He also recalled that in people's Poland there existed the Christian-Democratic labour Party that suspended its activity in 1946 forced to do so by the then political situation. The deputy said that members of the then leadership of this party and the Christian-Democratic Club of Political Thought appointed this February 12 a provisional main board of the labour Party in Poland with its chairman Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki. Bender quoted fragments of the party's declaration and said that the party is going to participate in Poland's public life basing on the rules of the Catholic social science and being in touch with the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Poland but on its own responsibility. He added that the party recognized the constitutional legal order and is not aiming to take over power in Poland and describes itself as an opposition force.

The speaker voiced the conviction that the re-emergence of Christian Democrats on the poltical scene in Poland will make political changes taking place in this country more reliable and will testify to the departure of the Stalinist epoch.

Deputy Danuta Grzywaczewska (PUWP): The share of spendings on defence and public security in the state budget in 1989 will reach, respectively, 5.5 and 4.2 per cent. National defence will cost us 982 billion zlotys and subsidies for enterprises will exceed the National Defence Ministry's budget. The defence spendings will be cut by 4 per cent in relation to the past year, despite the growth of inflation, prices of the uniforms, equipment and the costs of using this equipment. We are spending 25,100 zlotys per capita on defence while

France spends 620 dollars and the United States 1,185 dollars. I agree to a gradual reduction of these spendings which does not mean we can radically change them.

Public security spendings this year will close at 459 billion zlotys much of which goes for fire control.

Finance Minister Andrzej Wroblewski answered questions and doubts voiced during the budget debate. While discussing subsidies Wroblewski said that the economy's greatest problem were subsidies in the food economy. The government made an initiative to solve this problem and the matter is being discussed at the round table in order to find the best solutions permitting to elimiate subsidies and to create a normal market. But it should be remembered that, for instance, putting the sum of the subsidies to the people's pockets may cause trouble in some branches of the economy.

Under the next item of the agenda PUWP Deputy Elzbieta Gacek presented a draft law on making the day of November 11 a national holiday. The draft, she said, is a materialisation of the postulates to reinstate this holiday and it meets halfway the expectations of millions of Poles. This date has the rank of a symbol in our national consciousness. The Sejm committees which studied the draft unanimously found November 11 a solemn day whose nature made it necessary to consider whether it should only be a celebrated day or also a day off work. Having considered the pros and cons the committees proposed that November 11 be a day off.

The intention to restore this holiday consists first of all in recognizing the continuation of the Poles' independence traditions and their striving for a sovereign, democratic state.

November 11, was celebrated as independence day as early as in 1926 but it was made a national holiday in 1937 by the independence day bill presented to a Sejm meeting on March 11, 1937. Today the Sejm passed the proposed law which makes November 11 a national holiday and a day off with 2 votes against and 14 abstentions.

The deputies voted the 1989 budget bill (with 12 votes against and 18 abstentions) and adopted the following resoltuions: On the state's payment balance for 1989 (7 abstained), the balance of monetary incomes and expenditures of the population in 1989 (1 against, 20 abstained), on crediting plan and principles of the monetary-crediting policy in 1989 (14 against, 22 abstained), on the plan of the central culture development fund in 1989 (1 against, 10 abstained), on the plan of the state manpower redeployment fund in 1989 (2 against, 18 abstained, on the plan of the central science and technology development fund (1 against, 18 abstained)

The Sejm also voted the law on the foreign debt servicing fund (1 against, 19 abstained), the law on exports development fund (6 abstentions), and the law on foreign currency (5 against, 13 abstained).

The report on deputies' draft amendment to the law on the organization and financing of social insurances was delivered by Deputy Wlodzimierz Koczur (PUWP). The amendment is aimed in part at simplifying procedures of insuring people employed in non-socialized work establishments.

As far as preventive activities and rehabilitation are concerned, the Sejm committees opined that ZUS (Social Insurance Institute) should not function as a direct implementing agent in this field but as a sponsor, and the new legislative suggestions will provide a groundwork for the implementation of this task.

Other proposals of the amendment aim at creating possibilities for ZUS to economize the surplus of the public insurance fund so that it does not lose its real value. The committees also opined that the level of social insurance premiums should be settled by the government after consulting the Sejm comittees.

The proposed law was passed by the chamber.

Next, the chamber passed the law on granting to the higher pedagogical school in Zielona Gora (Western Poland) the name of Tadeusz Kotarbinski, a great scholar, humanist, philosopher, and poet.

The last item on the agenda were interpellations and questions from the floor.

In an interpellation addressed to the premier, Deputy Eugeniusz Kot stated that the health service circles were increasingly concerned about further effectiveness of activities of the state sanitary inspection.

In response, the Minister of Health and Social Welfare Izabela Planeta-Malecka reported on the envisaged upgrading of the rank of this institution and boosting its preventive activities.

In his interpellation to the minister of finance, Deputy Jozef Serafin (UPP) raised the problem of pre-payments for homemade motor cars. As a result of the recent car price hikes, the owners of pre-payments have been, in his opinion, severely affected without their being to blame because buying a car by way of pre-payments requires paying a retail price which holds on the day of purchase.

Answering, Minister Andrzejk Wroblewski admitted that the case of pre-payments for cars was distressing to both society and the new government. Delays in the realisation of pre-payments amounted to 475,000 cars by the end of 1980. In the minister's opinion, however, the financial terms of buying a car on pre-payments are still more favourable than while buying it at a free market price.

Wroblewski reminded that the government had decided to liquidate the system of car coupons which would make it possible to increase the number of vehicles sold on pre-payments.

Unsatisfied with the minister's answer, Deputy Serafin pointed out that the current price of a Polonez Limousine was worth 132 average monthly salaries, which means that the index had grown threefold in that case. He also emphasized the unjust, in his opinion, interest rate on money collected as pre-payments.

Minister Wroblewski replied that the example of Polonez vehicles was inapropriate for the realisation of pre-payments for that car had already been completed. As for the interest rate, the banking system is autonomous today and in case of raising the interest rate on pre-payments, the PKO Savings Bank would demand subsidies from the state budget.

Replying to an interpelelation by Deputy Grzegorz Seidler (PUWP) the minister-head of the Central Planning Office, Franciszek Gaik, stated that the motion to give independence to plants grouped in the Lublin enterprise of construction ceramics had been tabled by two voivzodes of Zamosc and Tarnobrzeg. The decision of dividing the enterprise took into account the needs and tasks of regional industry and ensued also from requirements of the economic reform.

A total of 1051 enterprises were put under the control of voivodes last year—more than 400 motions were sent in to divide complex industrial units. The decisions were rarely appealed against.

The Sejm adopted a resolution to convene the next parliament meeting on February 24.

Daily Reports Registration of New Associations

AU1502181389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Feb 89 p 4

[Report signed 'mik': "New Associations"]

[Text] The Association for Natural Feeding and Childbirth and the Wolomin Sociocultural Association are going to be registered soon. The Society of Friends of the Holy See, Christian-Democratic Club, Union of Young Democrats, and Society of Friends of Silesia are also waiting to be recorded in the registers of Warsaw city hall.

The books of Warsaw City Hall in which the names of new associations with headquarters in Warsaw are recorded are becoming full. The first such entry was made only a few months ago, on 1 July 1988, and there are only a few empty pages left.

The most recent book begins with the names of the following associations: The All-Polish Lovers of Lithuania Club (registered on 6 February), the Scientific Society of Polish Archaeologists (registered on 2 February), and the Ignacy Paderewski Polish-U.S. Friendship Society (registered on 2 February).

The following associations have also been registered this year: The Society of Industrialists, the "Tai-Chi" Meditation Society, the Aikido Aikikai Society (meant to propagate physical culture and active recreation), the Roman Dmowski National Association (whose purpose is to "cultivate and propagate intelligent patriotism"), the National Social Pledge for Schools Association, the Human Care Society (which, according to its statute, is going to "work for the moral renewal of the individual by improving the physical, psychological, biological, and economic condition of all society" and "declare a struggle against mismanagement, unwillingness to make an effort, and mediocrity"), and the Society of Polish Employers.

The following are some of the associations that acquired a legal status in 1988: The Social Committee of Human Rights in Poland, the "Progress and Democracy" Association, and the Association of Catholic Academic Youth.

Elzbieta Dziewulska, director of the city hall department of social affairs and associations, told me: "It sometimes happens that the registration of an association is not completed within the statutory 1 month. But that is not our fault. An association's statute must correspond to the law. The draft Associations Act needs to be amended in any case. Sometimes, the persons registering an association come back to us with an amended version of the statute several months later. That was the case with the Association for Natural Feeding."

Will all these registered associations really commence activity? E. Dziewulska says they will, though sometimes the activity of an organization consists solely of financial activity (they enjoy tax concessions!), while the statutory objectives are forgotten. But that is a problem for their members.

Orzechowski Addresses Theoretical Conference

AU1502130489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Feb 89 p 3

["Extensive excerpts" of speech by Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the Third All-Polish PZPR Theoretical-Ideological Conference in Warsaw on 5 February]

[Text] Extensive changes and rapid progress are giving rise to understandable doubts, dilemmas, and questions. Theoretical thinking and human consciousness usually fail to keep abreast of them. The interdependence between events on the one hand and their programmatic purpose and socially approved hierarchy of values on the other is not always clear. New problems arise, often ones which have never been encountered before.

Has the conference been able to deal with these problems, and if so, to what extent? What has it achieved? What does it add to previous knowledge about the Polish reality and to ways of improving this reality and implementing the economic and political life of the country?

One thing is certain. Intellectual and ideological energy within the party, society, and country permitted the preparations for this conference and enabled us to translate the many impulses stemming from the process of change into theoretical language.

In this way, Marxist circles in Poland have confirmed their ability to continue the great traditions of the Polish intellectual leftwing that is connected with Marxism. They have furnished evidence of their vitality.

At the same time, the outcome of the conference confirms the falsehood of the following persistent stereotypes:

—That Marxism has lost the ability to develop, and that the crisis in practical socialism has proved the failure of Marxist theoretical thinking;
—That Polish Marxists have merely adopted a passive role of comment and criticism;
—That social development in Marxism mainly calls for inspiration and pragmatic conditions, and tends to repel ideological impulses as if allergic toward them.

Even before the conference started, the outlines of answers to the new challenges and needs were formulated during several dozen highly interesting seminars held by Marxists, sometimes with the participation of representatives of other streams. I am convinced that without them, there would have been no Politburo theses for the 10th plenum, and no plenum resolutions.

The present discussions and disputes clearly show that Marxism does not rule out alternative thinking and a variety of approaches toward the truth and controversial ways of searching for it. On the contrary, it encourages all these things.

Fortunately, during the heated debate and clash of different views, it was possible to avoid classifying patterns of thoughts according to previous worn-out stereotypes. That is something new in the lives of Polish Marxists. We also hope we are dispensing forever with the idea that other theories than Marxism are incapable of explaining reality and establishing the truth.

Modern Marxism is increasingly open to impulses from other schools and streams of thought and to the emergent new ways of searching for the truth, brought about by different theoretical and philosophical inspiration. We want our party to be the practical ally of every kind of creative thinking and every kind of bold search and discussion, regardless of the political attitude and ideological inspiration of its originator. We are not afraid of the truth, because it serves people and helps satisfy their needs, interests, and aspirations.

Different and alternative approaches, sometimes greatly discordant ones, have made their existence known during this conference. The extent of them is still great.

Today, we view the history of socialism and the Polish experience of socialism from a certain distance. We recognize the need to break with the entire heritage of regimented Stalinism. We must fulfill the moral imperative of telling the full truth about it and finally providing the honor that is due to the victims of the lawlessness. However, this must not eclipse the other truth—the fact that the revolution in Poland has resolved more than one issue left open by previous administrations. Socialism brought an end to unemployment and illiteracy, halted the country's drastic social retardation, and opened the doors to the world for the most deprived social strata and gave them a sense of dignity.

And yet, despite all the differences evident at the conference, the outlines of what we in the party have begun to call a minimum social order have become clear. This social order provides a reply to the question: "What kind of Poland, what kind of socialism, what kind of party?"

There are many historical and modern reasons why the concepts "Poland" and "socialism" should be considered an indivisible whole.

The goals and values that define the essence of socialism are already common knowledge among Poles, even when these goals and values are not directly identified with the concept "socialism." There is no other way to eliminate exploitation, injustice, and inequality than socialism; no other way to create really dignified conditions for mankind. No one discovered this road; no one blazed this trail.

Only socialism creates real chances for Poland's social development and prevents Poland from becoming a "backwater of Europe." Any other nonsocialist development path would make Poland permanently dependent on the capitalist West. There is every reason to believe that the fate of such a Poland would be no different than that of the economically backward countries that are being so ruthlessly exploited by modern centers of imperialism.

Therefore, we can confidently repeat what the first Polish socialists said in 1878: "A triumph of the principles of socialism is an essential condition for the success of the Polish nation."

The historical evidence that socialism guarantees Poland permanent security and inviolable borders and permits Poland a dignified and creative equal role in Europe has not lost its validity. A different, non-socialist Poland would not have felt safe within its borders, and would not have been certain about its territorial integrity. It would have been an insignificant pawn on the international chess board of Europe and the world.

Socialism creates a rational framework for the existence of a people, a framework that suits the people's interests, aspirations, and desire for greatness. It presents a real chance to overcome everything that threatens the Polish national community, reestablish national solidarity, and consolidate everything that serves to repair the severed national bonds.

I think this requires a restoration of the law of citizenship, and an inclusion in modern socialist theory of such fundamental concepts connected with patriotism as "Poland's greatness," "national honor," and "national pride."

It is exceedingly important that these great ideological and political concepts be brought back into the everyday language of writing and politics and become constructive elements of the vision of Poland and socialism that has been shaped in Poland by the people and for the people; in other words, shaped out of the 1,000-year traditions and characteristics of the Polish people. It is essential that these concepts become a part of the socialism that is consolidating Poland's independence and sovereignty, as well as its place in Europe.

These statements contain a partial answer to the question: "What kind of socialism?" The party, the opposition, in fact, almost everyone is asking this question today.

At the same time, this question expresses a conviction of the need to make a fundamental change to the way of looking at socialism.

At the present development stage of socialism as a world phenomenon, socialist theory is facing exceedingly important tasks. The point is no longer a mere dissemination of experiences. The tasks are more far-reaching. The point is now to verify and enrich theoretical perceptions of socialism and reject all the myths and illusions connected with it.

It is necessary to return to the roots of socialism as an idea, movement, and system. It is necessary to once again acknowledge something of which one should not be ashamed, the fact that socialism as an intellectual stream and real political force arose out of the desire of millions of working people for a more prosperous, dignified, and happy life; and that it arose from searches for answers to questions about the purpose of work and about the possibilities of shaping one's own life.

The sense and essence of socialism in its axiological aspect remain permanent and unchanging. Human dignity, social justice, social security, high work ethics, democracy and sovereignty of the individual, patriotism and internationalism—all these values make up socialism's identity. In our conviction, these and other values lead to the fact that it is socialism that will determine the fate of the world, for when we talk of socialism, we mean a social order in which man may freely develop his abilities and creative potential, create harmonious relationships with other people, and exert an intelligent influence on his environment.

We are planting questions about socialism onto Polish soil, in our own reality and under our own conditions. When asking "what kind of socialism," we try to define as accurately as possible the nature of the changes now facing Poland as a people and state.

As an individual and as a part of a collective whole, man wants to possess essential assets and know more about the world around him, so that he can live with a feeling of order and security and determine his own fortunes and relations with other countries. A thorough renewal and restructuring of socialism meets this challenge halfway. We perceive socialism's role in the development of mankind differently today, we see that socialism possesses a more profound role in this process. We see socialism not as a structure standing in an empty field, and not as a spiritual state, but as a historical phase. The socialist formation confirms the correctness of this process, but it will only guarantee a progressive development of mankind if it helps preserve and enrich his culture and civilization.

In this context, it is worth pointing out the view expressed during the conference whereby socialism is not the mere opposite of capitalism, as people are inclined to believe. Capitalism has created neither a market, nor a currency, nor a goods economy. Socialism does not have to reject these features as "capitalist" ones if they encourage management efficiency.

Socialism, a stage in mankind's social development, also does not have to reject what capitalism has brought and developed in the sphere of political and spiritual parliamentary democracy, the demarcation of authority, universal suffrage, and civic rights and liberties. After all, these features have cemented the fruits of progress and civilization. Socialism accepts them. However, socialism warns against the placing of constraints upon the progress achieved by capitalism; constraints not in the form of rules and regulations, but in the form of ideas in which progress ceases to exist.

A reevaluation of the criteria for assessing socialism's development is a new feature in our approach toward socialism.

Therefore, it is necessary to alter the criteria permitting an assessment of socialist development in such a way that, without ignoring essential conditions and institutional guarantees, it is possible to gain an accurate picture of the satisfaction of human needs, and hence a picture of working people's well-being. Let us recall that the development stages of socialism so far have been marked by clear indifference to society's actual feelings toward and opinions about socialism, and a failure to take into consideration their opinions on whether socialism's objectives have been attained in Poland; and if so, to what extent.

In our thinking on the subject of socialism, we also encounter the following dilemma: Are we dealing with a new quality of socialist development, or are we just dealing with an amendment to socialism?

Socialism does not require cosmetic changes or the surgical removal of blemishes, but a thorough transformation or recreation of all economic, political, and ideological spheres.

A sober assessment, devoid of party emotion and parochial constraints, will lead one to conclude that the key to answering the questions "what kind of Poland" and

"what kind of socialism" is still in the hands of the PZPR. However, the PZPR's survival requires not only a clear definition of its ideological identity, place and role in society and the state, and the ways and means by which it acts; but also, and most of all, a rapid and thorough reform of the party.

The road to this reform was opened by the 10th plenum, which answered many questions.

A modern Marxist and socialist party on the threshold of the 21st century must be completely different to what it is right now. It must be the initiator and stimulator of a more humanitarian, rational, and economically and politically efficient socialism; a party that continuously reforms reality. It must be a part of and also the driving force behind socialist parliamentary democracy and an energetic force in the pluralistic socioeconomic and political order. However, at the same time, it must be a party that guarantees the socialist nature of this order; a party conscious of its left-wing identity; a party capable of leading not only society, but a broad social left wing; a party of working people that does not lose sight of supreme socialist ideals.

Our Polish discussions and deliberations on socialism and the party occupy a part of the mainstream of changes to the theory and practice of socialism as a whole.

The main trend is constant: Each party selects and interprets its goals and the ways of attaining them independently. Today, internationalism means full respect for the right of each socialist society to be different, an end to the need for each society to emulate the others automatically, and an acknowledgement of the justification to perform bold experiments that would have been unthinkable not so long ago. In this sense, the concepts of "Polish socialism," "Soviet socialism," or "Hungarian socialism" seem justifiable.

On the other hand, one cannot fail to notice that every European socialist country is facing similar problems and dilemmas. Several of them have chosen similar ways of solving them; for example, the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Poland. This confirms the thesis that socialism is not just a system of universal values, but also a communion of similar problems and concrete tasks.

Viewing the changes to socialism and its traditional values as a process that transcends national borders permits a clearer view of the emergence of new values that also transcend social classes and national borders. Examples of these are the survival of human civilization, the elimination of the nuclear threat, and the preservation of a friendly natural environment.

In the complexity of Polish changes, a primary role is played by economics: ownership, the social division of labor, the organization of production, the distribution of the national income, the patterns of consumption, Poland's place in the world economy, and the shaping of a planned market economy.

A planned market economy is a combination of the independence of enterprises with central planning. However, it involves neither an all-powerful market, nor all-pervading central planning.

In order to make room for effective action by a planned market economy, it is essential to restructure many fundamental socioeconomic structures. In particular, it is necessary to make profound changes to the system of ownership.

Speeches and reports made during the conference have justified the thesis that thorough changes in the functioning of socialized production resources, which produce over 80 percent of the national income, form the essence of changes to the system of ownership.

A planned market economy calls for coexistence, interdependence, and competition between socialized and private means of production. Successive social systems have been dominated by one form of ownership, but other forms have also been present in them. Socialism is no exception.

The pluralism of organizational forms, including the pluralism of forms of social ownership, is going to become an increasingly important element in implementing the principle of freedom of ownership, freedom of management, equality of duties, and competition controlled by society with the help of economic mechanisms. In these conditions, and taking into account individual markets, private enterprise will not be able to degenerate into speculation. It will also be possible to eliminate the phenomenon whereby those who work badly take advantage of those who work well, and whereby schemers, speculators, and unscrupulous middlemen take advantage of honest and hard-working people.

Theoreticians are in favor of a major curb on the extent of state ownership and an expansion of such forms of ownership as cooperatives, communal ownership (ownership of resources by local communities), and self-management ownership (ownership of resources by workers self-management bodies in enterprises). There are also ideas concerning ownership in the form of franchises, or joint-stock companies in which the State Treasury has a share. However, these proposals are not being accepted automatically.

Consensus is beginning to emerge with respect to the self-administration option. The transfer of certain state economic functions to freely organized economic groups and individuals that come together in various kinds of self-governing organizations is a historical law of socialist development. That is how the issue was treated by classical Marxist-Leninist scholars and it is also dictated by the logic of the historical process. However, what is

the best way of squaring the strategic role of the state and the central plan with the expansion of work force initiative and self-management and work forces having a real influence on the economic process?

We can predict that the future ownership structure in the national economy will be one that is based on making the fullest possible use of the economic merits of various types and forms of ownership. This means, among other things, private sector activity that is only subject to restrictions arising from appropriate legislation, including taxation legislation.

The crisis and economic instability have brought exceptional additional benefits to the nonsocialized sector with the exception of agriculture. This causes and increases injustices in the distribution of national income. It is understandable that this should prompt bitterness and opposition on the part of people employed in the socialized sector as well as in education and health care, and cultural services and the administration. The extent of these negative phenomena, which are incompatible with the dictates of the system, can be markedly curbed by two remedial economic measures: a real equality of economic and financial status for producers in all sectors and a universal and uniform system of personal income taxation that clearly favors expenditure on the expansion of production and places an appropriate burden on the portion of income allocated for personal consumption.

The ownership structure in agriculture and the realization of the worker-peasant alliance in a manner that suits this structure have traditionally been a characteristically Polish feature among the socialist states and societies. Two fundamental principles that serve as a starting-point are important in this respect.

The first is that the individual peasant farm adapts to the conditions and principles for the functioning of socialism, as it adapted to capitalism and to feudalism in the past.

The second is that family property does not create a basis for exploitation. The distribution of what is produced primarily takes the form of agricultural income and proceeds in accordance with the amount of labor expended, which means that there is a significant increase in vocational skills.

Taking these circumstances into account, it is to be assumed that the development of Polish agriculture and the future of the worker-peasant alliance will continue to be linked to very extensive private ownership of the means of production in agriculture.

The need to implement an effective social policy will not diminish in a planned market economy. It must attach particular importance to the realization of socialism's fundamental values: the right to work, equality of opportunity, social justice, social security, and sovereignty in the workplace and in public life.

It should be particularly stressed that unemployment is not, as is often thought—this is highlighted in the theory of social policy and supported by extensive observation—a factor that raises average productivity and the level of unemployment is not structurally related to the economic situation in a given country. Guarantees of employment must remain one of the key directional elements of social policy in Poland.

A planned market economy does not and cannot mean limitations on equality of opportunity and a watered down realization of the principle of justice through the commercialization of basic social services, especially of education and health care. This would only limit citizens' equality of opportunity in starting out in life, the equality of opportunity that has already been curtailed recently, and would strike at fundamental institutional principles that have been accepted by society.

The essence of modern and rational socialism requires a political system that combines an essential level of effectiveness with democracy and makes citizens identify with the state and its institutions to a much greater extent than has been the case until now.

The essence of the matter lies in a fundamental reassessment of the role and function of the state and of the state-society-individual relationship. There was a time when the theory of the state and the political practice of socialism were dominated by concepts such as "the dictatorship of the proletariat," the "administrative committee" of the ruling class, "the supreme value," "the class struggle." They essentially expressed and justified the state's omnipotence, its all-embracing character, and the state's right to subordinate all areas of public life to itself.

In this kind of socialist state there was little room for democracy, self-government, observance of the rule of law, for freedom, and for individual freedoms.

Today, the situation has radically changed. When we think of the socialist state, its most important aspects seem to be democracy, parliamentary government, law, extensive pluralism, a wealth of initiative and a wealth of social movements, order in diversity, civic discipline, which is arrived at through conscious choice and is supported by guarantees of individual rights, the interaction of ideas, and competition. This kind of transformation of the state is and will remain a difficult process and will not take place overnight.

Much is also being said about the structure of socialist parliamentary democracy (or parliamentary democracy under socialism). Current thinking on this subject points to several component elements:

—First: the Sejm occupies a special place in the system and reflects the pluralist character of society, and people's councils, elected on the basis of more democratic principles, are a forum for making fundamental

decisions concerning the life of the state and the economy and for the interaction of alternative proposals and suggestions. The question of the structure of the Sejm and people's councils remains the subject of controversy—are they to be uni- or bicameral?

—Second: a clear definition of the competence, scope of activity, and responsibility of legislative, executive, and judicial organs; the existence of a special balance between them while preserving the supremacy of the Sejm and people's councils. This seems to be a more appropriate solution than the classic tripartite division of power;

—Third: the strengthening of the executive organs of the state. This pertains, first and foremost, to the possible creation of the institution of President of the PPR—a possibility that is constantly being discussed and is the subject of controversy—with extensive powers including the representation of national values and aspirations and the role of arbiter in conflicts. The president, who would be elected by way of representative, but not necessarily universal elections, should have a strong position with respect to the Parliament (including the right to appeal directly to society by way of, for example, the referendum) and the government (with the right to appoint a cabinet and exercise general supervision over its work, to act as head of the Armed Forces, and enjoy extensive powers in the foreign policy field);

—Fourth: the legal system. A strong position for institutions that guarantee observance of the law and dispense justice;

—Fifth: political pluralism. Political pluralism as a value is not a goal in itself, but is subordinated to national interests. It creates institutional guarantees for the public expression of different views and for taking steps aimed at realizing civil and individual rights and freedoms up to the limits set by binding legal norms. It enhances conditions for rational and socially effective action on the part of the authorities. It sets in motion mechanisms for the articulation and reconciliation of various, including conflicting, social interests. It prevents disagreements from accumulating and turning into conflicts.

Changes in our philosophy of the state and government are also reflected in the fact the concept of civic society is gaining increasingly extensive currency in our political language—in view of the discussion before, at, and after the 10th plenum. We are still at the stage of producing theoretical formulations for its outlines and initial actions that would pave the way for a civic society. Civic society, that is—a sovereign society, which is self-organizing and self-governing in many areas—appears to us as a broad area for the expression of various sources of motivation, for social initiatives and aspirations that often arise spontaneously, for the flow of information in various directions, and which takes account of increasingly broader pluralism, and an increasing preponderance of horizontal over vertical ties and forms of interaction.

Essentially, there are still more questions than answers in this area. So, to what extent should the values of the ideology of the civic society enrich the theoretical vision of socialism? How should one describe this broadest plane of the community of interests and aspirations within which one must build an order composed of social agreements and create fields for the expression and confrontation of various, including opposition standpoints? How should political culture be enriched so that the wealth and diversity of social life, extensive individual rights, the ability to freely articulate interests and aspirations is combined with respect for the needs and opinions of others and the ability to take effective action without harming the general interest?

This gives rise to a fundamental question: In a planned marked economy and under the structures and conditions of socialist parliamentary government and civic society will it be possible for a Marxist party to continue to exercise a leading role? Does the introduction of socioeconomic, and institutional and political changes on the initiative of the party not amount to a reversal of its current position as a leading and guiding force?

The 10th Central Committee plenum provided unambiguous answers to these questions. The PZPR has not renounced its leading role. However, it cannot and does not want to continue to exercise this role by copying current methods. It will only perform its role and tasks when it operates within the socioeconomic, political, and civic system and in accordance with the dictates of the economy, the law, and democratic conduct.

This is not and will not be possible without the strengthening of a pro-socialist system of alliance. The party is part of the Polish left, a fundamental part, and the strongest politically, organizationally, and in terms of personnel, but still only a part of it. The left as a whole, and not just the PZPR, will create political and social guarantees for the socialist development of Poland.

The conference gave support to and bolstered the wish to reassess the essential component elements of the party's ideological and political identity. This particularly applies to the PZPR's social base and its attitude toward religion.

In a situation in which differences are gradually being eroded between wage-earners engaged in physical or mental work and the intelligentsia feels itself to be part of the world of work and is viewed as such by workers and peasants, we think that in terms of principles the PZPR should describe itself as the party of all working people. Of course, the workers class continues to be its fundamental group. It also has a decisive role to play in

the creation of national income. It has not ceased to be the main driving force behind socialist change. It has the strongest interest in eliminating alienation and asserting human qualities in work, in eradicating exploitation, in scientific, technical, and organizational progress, and in public control of the administration.

The need to change and reassess the party's attitude toward religion and the religious beliefs of it members has also fully matured. The party operates and continues to operate in a society in which catholic traditions and culture will continue to play a clearly dominant role.

There seems to be a growing belief among Marxist philosophers that the existence or nonexistence of God should not be the subject of scientific consideration or scientific solutions. It is problem that Marxism is, in a sense, indifferent to, and one that simply cannot be solved by rationalism or the empirical sciences.

Thus, there is no rational basis for maintaining a situation in which the identity of the party, which is secular by virtue of its principles, should decide about the suitability of views that are of no essential significance for political and social practice. Everyone who accepts party principles and the party program with respect to "this world," who sees the party as providing him with a place for social and political engagement and is ready to submit to party discipline should find that the road to the party is open to him.

This kind of approach to religion also strengthens the foundations of church-state dialogue, a dialogue that is honest and loyal, and serves the good of the people and the state.

However, this cannot be an obstacle to the formulation of critical and principled assessments of the state and the party by the church and of the church as an institution by the state and the party. Religion, one's attitudes toward the faith of one's fathers—as it was expressed during the debate—is a private matter. However, the policy of the church and its representatives in Poland and all over the world is a public matter. Whoever is active in this world is subject to its laws.

The rich results produced by the conference have yielded various suggestions and stimuli. This wealth of different results will be meticulously recorded and examined. Today we can already say that they will be used during the course of preparations for future sessions of the PZPR Central Committee, the upcoming National Delegate Conference, the 11th congress, and in work on changes and additions to the program and the PZPR Statute.

Leaving aside proposals of a more general kind and specific solutions, there is one fundamental conclusion for the practice of Polish economic and political change: The main line of Polish reform can be arrived at through the structure of the laws of scientific socialism, a scientific socialism divested of petrified schematisism that goes back to the Cartesian-Marxist message that the one true dogma is the need to doubt every dogma. The reasoning behind this is not, of course, that one should be in a constant state of indecision and not believe in anything, but that ritualization and recourse to seeking confirmation of established theses is the enemy of Marxism.

It is the intention of the leadership of the party that political thought, which assumes concrete form in decisions and directives, should be the crowning point of scientific analyses and reflection. It is not a question of theory providing a justification for political decisions, but of theory providing a natural basis for decisions.

The conference has also yielded suggestions for ideological activity and intraparty education. Party and mass media channels must convey to the party the content of the minimum ideological order that is assuming shape and must become part of general party education.

However, most of the conclusions stemming from the conference concern the PZPR's theoretical front and the Marxist social sciences.

It is true to say that the preparations, course, and results of the Third Nationwide Theoretical and Ideological conference show that the Marxist social sciences are being increasingly active in addressing the challenges arising from changes to socialism in Poland and the entire world. However, it has to be admitted that the very theory of modern socialism in its global and national dimensions is still in its infancy. There is even still a long way to go before solid foundations are created for it.

The conference did not and could not answer all the questions that were addressed to it. What is more, the conference saw many well-known but also new questions being raised, questions of fundamental importance for the theory of socialism. These are questions addressed to us. Nobody else will be able to answer them for us.

The Marxist social sciences in Poland have fine traditions extending well into the past, traditions that are sometimes forgotten. There are good grounds for believing that today and tomorrow they will provide further evidence of their ideological and intellectual elasticity and will meet contemporary challenges.

As an aside to the conference, it should be noted that the changes in society, the state, and the party also give rise to a need to change the role and place of theorists in the party's intellectual front so that maximum use can be made of their creative potential. This cannot be achieved without recognition of the special status of party intellectuals, their independence, and without restoring to theory and to theorists the function of criticism with respect to reality.

Family Meets Gorbachev, Reunited With Relatives

LD1602043189 Warsaw PAP in English
1636 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Szczecin, Feb 15—The 9-strong Bakan family of Poland, who stayed for a fortnight in Belorussia at the invitation of CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, came back home on Feb 14.

On July 13, 1988 the Bakans played host to Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev who visited their farm in Szczecin Voivodship. During the visit, the Bakans mentioned that some members of their family live in Belorussia, and that they have not seen their relatives since 1946. The USSR leader facilitated the family reunion by sending the Bakans an invitation to Belorussia.

"It was an unforgettable meeting," Franciszek Bakan told PAP. "We invited our Belorussian relatives to visit us in Poland."

Daily Comments on Jaruzelski's CSSR Visit

AU0802125689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
2 Feb 89 p 6

[Commentary by Marian Kuszewski, permanent correspondent in Prague: "Concrete, Friendly, and Fruitful"]

[Text] The visit was short, but really exceptionally intensive. During an impromptu press conference following the talks with Miklos Jakes, Wojciech Jaruzelski said: "One could rather jokingly say that we have attained a high level of productivity." He highly appraised the friendly, frank, and open atmosphere in which the talks took place and the hospitality with which he and his entourage were received by their hosts. Let us add that on the surface these aspects appear to be less important, because they do not constitute substantive results of meetings of this kind. However, they actually do play an important role both in the process of addressing common issues and in the formulation and subsequent implementation of decisions.

Nevertheless, the Prague talks did also deal with many common issues of a substantive kind. The important aspects of the talks included the mutual exchange of information on the problems that the PZPR and the CPCZ are solving in their respective countries. At a time when many rapid changes and political and economic reforms are being instituted in our countries—processes that are not always easy to interpret—good mutual information is an exceptionally important factor in successful cooperation between our parties and states.

Bilateral economic relations understandably occupied an important place in the Prague talks. The two sides highly appraised current economic cooperation, especially trade. At the same time, they expressed a resolute desire to expand economic relations further.

Miklos Jakes said: We would like our trade to reach a level of 20 billion rubles over the next 5-year period. It was agreed that the results of cooperation and specialization should play a greater role in this than has been the case so far. It is also a question of setting up joint enterprises and cooperating more extensively in third markets. It is essential to remove various obstacles to achieve this goal. This applies to, among other things, the pricing system and principles governing the mutual convertibility of our currencies. One can expect the resolute desire expressed by the two leaders to be followed up by various concrete actions that were also discussed in prague in substantive terms.

In line with a joint decision, one of the results of the talks will be that work will shortly commence on the preparation and subsequent signing of an agreement on cooperation between the two fraternal parties in the superstructure field. It is hoped that the document will not only help to strengthen interparty cooperation, but that it will also lead to the expansion of cooperation in the sphere of science and culture, and increase what our two societies know about each other. Against this background, it is worth noting the point contained in the communique on the bilateral expansion of mass media reporting our countries. At the same time, both leaders very clearly expressed support for the intensification of various, above all, organized, contacts between young people, including contacts between youth organizations.

Replying to one of the questions asked by journalists, Wojciech Jaruzelski said: "Essentially, the decisions (that is, the decisions made during Miklos Jakes' visit to Warsaw—m. k.) that we made 1 year ago are being successfully implemented." He also said that he believed that the climate of the talks and the concrete suggestions and decisions that they have produced will provide promising conditions for the future.

CSSR Defense Expenditure Reduction Lauded

LD1402164889 Warsaw PAP in English
1523 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw Feb 14 (CTK correspondent)—Polish state bodies received with satisfaction and acknowledgment the recent decision of the Czechoslovak Government to limit unilaterally the expenditures on defensive purposes, Polish Foreign Ministry spokesman Stefan Staniszewski told CTK here today.

He said that this step ranks among the decisions started by Mikhail Gorbachev and adopted later by other socialist countries including Poland.

The decision of the Czechoslovak Government was adopted in a new, favourable international situation. We think that it is a concrete contribution to the reduction of the level of military confrontation in Europe, the spokesman said. Undoubtedly it will also benefit the negotiations on the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armament of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty states to be held in Vienna early March, Stefan Staniszewski said.

Polish Leaders Send Thanks for Condolence Cable

AU1602093089 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Feb 89 p 3

[Telegram by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, to President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu thanking for condolence message on the death of Jozef Cyrankiewicz, former chairman of Poland's State Council and Council of Ministers]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania,

To Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania,

We wish to cordially thank you for the condolence message on the death of Comrade Jozef Cyrankiewicz, former chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

We take your words of compassion as proof of high regard for the memory of the deceased, who made an important contribution to the development of comprehensive friendship and cooperation between our countries.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic

Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic

Development of Danube River Delta Reviewed

AU1602093689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0834 GMT 16 Feb 89

["The Danube Delta—Ecology and Development"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/2/1989—The Danube delta is Romania's youngest land. The whole area, enclosed between the three arms (Chilia, Sulina and Sfintu Gheorghe) through which the Danube merges with the Black Sea, is impressive both by the scenery and by its character of vast ecosystem.

This area of land and water covers over 440,000 hectares. (The delta is made up of two parts—the "maritime delta," comprising also the Razelm-Sinoe lagoons, and the "river zone," covering mostly consolidated ground, sand, etc.) For more than five years, the Danube delta has been the object of a program of long-term and complex development pursuing its economic capitalization through the increase of the plant, animal, fish, forest and reed production, concomitant with the protection and conservancy of the wild life, for the maintenance of the ecologic equilibrium, and with development of tourism.

By complex works of hydromelioration, a part of the river area was given to agriculture. The productive arable area covers now more than 35,750 hectares. The pasture land too, has been greatly extended. By 1990, and even after that agriculture there is planned to use 144,000 hectares including 93,000 for various cultures.

In fact, the river area of the delta is about to become an important farming area of the country. The first zone protected by dams was Pardina, where 26,000 hectares of marsh land was reclaimed for farming. Agricultural development works are in an advanced stage at Sireasa, Cernanca, Fortuna, etc. New important works start in other farm areas (covering over 37,000 hectares) at Sfintu Gheorghe-Dranov, covering also as part of the sandy lands. Large fruit-tree plantations were started on wide areas of salt soil (apple, plum, almond, fig, quince, sweet cherry, peach, etc.), as well as vineyards and vegetable gardens. By 1990, 280 hectares will be covered by vines and 300 hectares by fruit-trees. Likewise, other agricultural sectors as well keep developing. The head of animal has grown, following the building of the farms and complexes at Chilia Veche, 1 Mai, Independenta and other localities in the river delta. According to the above-mentioned program, animal breeding in the delta will boast 350,000 sheep, 20,000 horned cattle, 120,000 pigs, a large number of poultry. The delta resources are used to this end but work is also on for the development of over 50,000 hectares of new pasture land. Fishing and fish farming too, are heeded. Important fish developments were achieved and other ones are under way.

According to the program provisions, pisciculture in the river delta will avail by 1990 of developments covering more than 63,000 hectares.

Silviculture too, has been developed. It covers already now 23,500 hectares and will reach 29,100 hectares by 1990. A modern farm was also organized and developed in the locality of Maliuc.

The whole activity of development and economic capitalization of the river delta proceeds in compliance with the norms of preservation of the Danube delta ecologic equilibrium, elaborated after long research by experts of the Romanian academy. Natural and scientific reserves were established, natural monuments and sites for refuge, nestling and stopover for all kinds of birds (over an area of 41,500 hectares). Economic activities are completely forbidden there and the tourists' access limited.

The delta program also stipulates important actions of administrative and urban modernization and development of the settlements there.

LCY Central Committee Plenum Previewed

LD1502162189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1137 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Feb (TANJUG)—Cadre renewal in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium will be the main subject of the forthcoming 21st LCY Central Committee Plenum, which is to begin on Friday at 1000 in the building of the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade.

According to the announced agenda, the plenum will begin with consideration of the report by a Central Committee working group formed to examine whether the initiative of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee for establishing the responsibility of LCY Central Committee members Mate Andric, Hrvoje Istuk, Milanko Renovica, and Nikola Stojanovic has a basis.

It is envisaged that following this a report will be considered by another working group, which was formed by the Central Committee at its last, 20th session, in connection with the initiative of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee for relieving Petar Matic of his duties as member of the LCY Central Committee.

Some of the issues, relating to cadre renewal in the Central Committee, will begin with a consideration of the resignations of members of the top party forum in line with the criteria established at the 17th party plenum. After this, a decision should be passed on changes in the composition of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. On this basis, the election of new LCY Central Committee and Central Committee Presidium members will be carried out at the plenum.

The LCY Central Committee, it has been announced, will also consider at its 21st session proposed changes and amendments to the decision on the bases and measures for determining the level of party membership fees and establishing the basic activities of the LCY which are financed from membership fees.

Loncar Protests Introduction of Visas by FRG

AU1502121089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, has sent the FRG Government a message on behalf of the SFRY Government in connection with the question of the possible introduction of visas for Yugoslav citizens. The message says that the introduction of visas for our citizens traveling to the FRG would result in unfavorable consequences in many respects and that this would not be in accordance with the high level of overall cooperation between the two countries.

It is also pointed out that the unilateral resumption of the long-abandoned system of visas for the citizens of the two countries would not solve the problems that sometimes result from the unhindered and free circulation of citizens, and that such problems can be better solved through efforts by both sides.

Loncar Speaks on Foreign Policy Objectives

LD1402225589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1827 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 14 Feb (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, talked in Ljubljana today with journalists from the Slovene media and correspondents from the Yugoslav press. In a lengthy address, he expounded the attitudes toward the role and status of Yugoslavia in the world, particularly within European integration trends. He also reviewed the efforts to restructure the foreign service.

Replying to questions, Loncar pointed out the two ways of thinking in connection with Yugoslavia's orientation. According to the former, our development should be found primarily in cooperation with the developed North, whereas the latter sees the exit from difficulties mainly in terms of South-South relations. The latter approach is a big mistake since the world's South is also transforming along a number of integration groups. The developing countries represent a part of the world stability in the general world framework, so they and the nonaligned countries must also find a way to fit into the system of new balance and the relaxing of tension in the world. Yugoslavia has a prominent political role in that process. Dwelling on the role of the movement, Budimir Loncar, stressed that the movement should, since it has been revaluating world developments, modernize and contribute to stabilization and democratization, both in the bilateral and internal spheres.

As expected, the talks focused mainly on relations between the European Community and the SFRY. To this effect, Loncar said that Yugoslavia should place itself close to the European Community, but it should also retain its political integrity. In Loncar's words, in the hierarchy of contractual relations between the EC and the rest of the world, Yugoslavia is now "staying" within the third group, but it should aspire to become a member of the group of the countries which are subject to the so-called special status. The SFRY, Loncar believes, must expand technological and financial cooperation with the community. It must also stimulate the interest of the EC to take part in the infrastructure projects in Yugoslavia as a part of Europe's own infrastructure needs. The SFRY should simultaneously conduct a dialogue with the European Council, intensify cooperation with the European Parliament, and decide upon joining EFTA.

There is no reason, Loncar said, for Yugoslavia not to take the lead in the efforts to create integrations in Europe, in which it must find its place. This could be

achieved through an energetic and swift affirmation of reforms, i.e., market orientation, the creation of a unified Yugoslav market, the establishment of political pluralism, and liberalizing relations with the world. Yugoslavia must adopt a convertible dinar, and the reform orientation of the country must develop to the point where it creates preconditions for a more creative and successful foreign policy.

Loncar, of course, could not avoid answering the questions about how he interprets the intention of the FRG to introduce visas for Yugoslav citizens, and to comment on some excesses in our foreign representative offices which have occurred over the last few months, particularly in Australia and the United States. Loncar pointed out that the SFRY is making great efforts to solve the problem of visas. He also said that diplomatic service is not immune to human weaknesses and that the latest excesses were the consequence of our crisis and general openness, which is not absent from foreign policy.

Markovic on Need for Change in Role of State

AU1502215189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Ante Markovic, president-designate of the FEC, stressed in the delegates club of the SFRY Assembly that the scrapping of and essential changes to certain laws and (?semilegal) acts are a prerequisite for the independence of economic entities and the functioning of the market. Markovic stated that it was therefore necessary to reexamine not only the functioning of executive organs, but the assembly system as well.

The role of the state would be reduced to protecting the rights of entities on the market, especially in regard to taxation, fiscal, and solidarity policy. The state cannot be an instrument through which politics will manage society, the FEC president-designate stated categorically.

Markovic did not fail to mention how those who have any privileges at all will resist reform and said that the struggle of progressive forces for the new socialism must be much more cohesive.

As far as the rationalization of the FEC is concerned, he mentioned several federal committees which are a remnant of the consensus economy.

On the basis of consultations thus far in the republics and provinces, Markovic stressed the belief that he will have at his disposal the best cadres, but a full term of office will be necessary for their involvement in the new government if policy is to be successfully implemented.

Mikulic Discusses Budget With Representatives

LD1402213489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Feb (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic today held a working meeting with the representatives of the executive councils of the republics and provinces, at which consideration was given to the new proposals for the federal budget and expenditures not included in the budget [van budjetski balans] for this year, as well as proposals for reducing import duties.

The drafts of these documents, the Federal Secretariat for Information announces, represent an important step in reducing overall expenditure at the level of the federation and in further relieving the economy. By this fact alone, these proposals, which have taken into the greatest possible consideration numerous suggestions and observations made by the assemblies of the republics and provinces and in the debates in the working bodies of the SFRY Assembly, have an expressly anti-inflationary character and should contribute to greater openness of the domestic market and greater scope for imports, especially of reproduction materials, raw materials, and equipment necessary for giving manufacturing dynamic momentum and for increasing exports. All this, it was stressed at this meeting, will have a positive effect on the stabilization of overall economic development as well, it says in the communique.

9,000 Unemployed Protest at Rally in Cacak

AU1502162289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] About 9,000 unemployed, mainly young people, have protested at a rally in Cacak. Here is a report from Radio Cacak reporter Nada Hadzimurtezic:

The young people understand all the problems facing the Cacak economy, but they cannot accept disrespect for law and order, so they have prepared a blacklist for today containing over 30 names of collectives.

Branko Vasovic, president of the youth organization of the cutting tools factory, promised that young employed people would fight for changes which would create conditions for a quicker resolution of the problem of unemployment.

The young people were also joined by Bole Lukic, SAWP communal conference president, who demanded the establishment of the collective and personal accountability of individuals and organs which do not implement their own conclusions and set the deadline for differentiation to be carried out by the end of March.

After four speakers, Kasija Dostanic announced the demands of the meeting on behalf of the unemployed of Cacak.

[Begin Dostanic recording] We are demanding that the expertise and ability of leading cadres in work collectives which have been doing business on the edge of profitability or with losses for years be analyzed in a regular procedure and through self-managing organs and competent bodies. We also demand that other work organizations work more quickly to create production programs which will improve the position of the employed

and create conditions for developing new workplaces. We are asking all employed people and citizens of Cacak to no longer tolerate in the places where they live and work occurrences of laziness, irresponsibility in work, economic crimes, bad business activities, bad human relations, nonadherence to moral principles, disrespect for laws and regulations concerning employment procedure, and failure to create conditions for employing young specialist cadres. [end recording]

New Officials Elected in Kosovo, Vojvodina

LD1402195789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1736 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 14 (TANJUG)—The newly-elected Presidency presidents of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina and the League of Communists of Kosovo, Nedeljko Sipovac and Rahman Morina respectively, were today elected as members of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee Presidency.

The plenary session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia also proposed four candidates for the LC of Serbia organization for two vacancies on the Central Committee of the League of Communiss of Yugoslavia.

The Central Committee members of the LC of Serbia were today also informed about the resignations of its 26 members (20 from the northern province of Vojvodina and six from Serbia proper). To replace them, 20 new members were elected from the League of Communists of Vojvodina. The election of the remaining six Central Committee members and the election of two new members of its presidency will be made at some of the future Central Committee sessions.

The party leadership of Serbia supported mass demonstrations in Vojvodina's capital of Novi Sad last October which resulted in the downfall of the entire provincial leadership. The leadership also explicitly expressed its dissatisfaction with the activity of the party leader, her predecessor Azem Vlasi, who was relieved of his membership of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on February 1.

Central Government Blamed for Kosovo Crisis

LD1602102189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 15 (TANJUG)—The political-security situation in the Province of Kosovo has deteriorated in the past few months above all due to the more aggressive and perfidious activity of Albanian separatists, the government of the Republic of Serbia, of which the autonomous province is a part, assessed today.

In the Serbian government's view, the organized nationalist demonstrations of Kosovo Albanians in mid-November last year also contributed to the deterioration of the situation in the province.

The Serbian government's position is that the air of the November demonstrations was resistance to the implementation of the Yugoslav state and party leadership's policy for the settling of conditions in Kosovo and amendments to the Serbian Constitution which should give the republic state powers over its two provinces—Vojvodina in the North and Kosovo in the South.

The Serbian government blamed the poor situation in the province on the top state and party organs in the Yugoslav federation and federal units which are inconsistent in carrying out the clearly set task for settling conditions in Kosovo. In its view, coordination in the implementation of these tasks is particularly lacking at federation level.

The Serbian government considers that the current cadre changes in Kosovo which should create a "unified front" of all the peoples living in the province, are a good basis for leading a more consistent and energetic struggle against the counter-revolution and for the final settlement of the Kosovo crisis.

Pulja Expelled From Kosovo Executive Council

LD1602102589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croation 1827 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 15 Feb (TANJUG)—The Statutory Commission of the Serbian LC today confirmed the decision to expel Imer Pulja, former president of the Kosovo Executive Council, from the LC. After his election to the post of president of the Kosovo Executive Council in 1982, Imer Pulja failed to oppose Albanian nationalism.

Emigration From Kosovo Continues Unabated

LD1602095289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Summary] Pristina, 15 Feb (TANJUG)—According to the latest figures [source not specified], the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins continues, with no sign of decreasing. In 1988, 2,523 individuals of Serb and Montengrin nationality left Kosovo, that is, 205 families with 625 members, and 1898 individuals. Last year, out of 7000 Croats living in Kosovo, 12 families with 66 members, and 12 individuals also left, and 5 families with 25 members of Turkish nationality left for Turkey, as yet another 4 families submitted their request for emigration. In the same years, 742 individuals returned to Kosovo, of whom 597 were employed. Most of the returns were registered in the least developed municipalities. For example, 90 returned to Kosovska Kamenica, out of whom 80 found a job and 77 returned to Lipljan, of which 4 have not found jobs yet.

Origin of Kosovo Writers' Statement Questioned

AU1502213889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Feb 89 p 4

[Milos Antic report: "An Ethnic Society, Ethnic Support"]

[Text] On the day that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee held a session, on Saturday when an assessment was given of both the November and February protests

by workers of Albanian nationality, a statement was published by the Kosovo Writers Association, which is the association from which, as is well known, 27 writers who use the Serbo-Croatian language resigned. It said the following:

"We are requesting that the highest party and state organs of the SFRY analyze and realistically assess the situation in Kosovo without provoking the people with irrefutable decisions and the selection of cadres that they do not want.

"We demand that the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia which change the constitutional position of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo not be adopted, despite the rhetorical acrobatic promises that this will not happen. We also demand that the public debate be respected and that the Albanian nation not be insulted by saying that they do not understand the changes. This cannot be said of one single people at a time of modern parties and states. The Albanian people have the legitimate, historical, and real right to express their opinion in regard to any change in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia.

"We are requesting that the meetings of ethnic Albanians last November not be described as hostile, because they did not ask for weapons and death and the expulsion from Yugoslavia of any people or nationality, which is what happened at rallies in Serbia, Vojvodina, and Montenegro. We are also requesting that the list of so-called 'inspirers and organizers of the meetings' be scrapped, as well as certain decisions by party organs regarding the search for them, as this was not done for the rallies by members of the Serbian nationality.

"We are requesting that the publishing, pseudo-scientific, and political campaign against Kosovo and the Albanian people in general stop, as well as the use of labeling and primitive terminology such as genocide, terror, and such things which do not correspond to the reality in Kosovo and compromise the SFRY in the eyes of the world.

"We are requesting that certain processes of Draconian punishments be stopped, as well as Stalinist and neo-Stalinist methods like differentiation, 'the chopping off of heads,' and the denial of the right to work and education guaranteed by the present Constitution and international documents which have been accepted by the SFRY.

"We are requesting that the federal structure of Yugoslavia be preserved, as a state of equal peoples and nations on the foundations of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and according to the 1974 Constitution which is still in force."

This was written and personally signed by the president of the Kosovo Writers Association, Dr Ibrahim Rugova. It does not say that this is the conclusion of the Presidium or of the conference of the Kosovo Writers Association because as far as is known, they have not met, at least not publicly. There is also the question of whether, if they had met, this could be the view of the Kosovo Writers Association, considering the absence of writers who use the Serbo-Croatian language.

It seems that these demands, which have been presented like an ultimatum, are the personal opinion of Ibrahim Rugova or a certain group of people around him. It is also difficult to assume that all ethnic Albanian writers in Kosovo think exactly the same thing. However, there should be no doubt that Rugova is not alone.

Could more serious accusations against the highest party and state organs exist than the one made against them that they provoke the people (in this case the Albanian people) with their decisions and the selection of cadres that they do not want? According to him and his followers, the clear assessment by the country's party leadership of the November demonstrations is a provocation. Comment is also unnecessary in the case of the election of new cadres. They were chosen by the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee (which has a majority of Albanians) and not by the party leadership or the state. Rugova and similar people are bothered by these cadres only because they are prepared to change the unbearable situation in Kosovo.

Now, after announcements by the scientific workers at the Albanology Institute, speeches by certain directors at protest meetings when they "set the workers alight" and by individuals at a session of the Provincial Committee itself, and the latest appearance by Rugova and his followers, it can be clearly surmised where workers' dissatisfaction is being "cooked up" and where the organizers and inspirers for whom Rugova is seeking an amnesty in the name of democracy are hiding.

Commenting on each of Rugova's demands individually would be a waste of time because it is more than obvious that this is a question of a purely hostile platform which, as well as having the intention of stirring up people, also means the most direct opposition to the united and official policy of the LCY on Kosovo.

Types of Meetings Being Held in Kosovo Explained

AU1402121589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 89 p 1

[M. Antic report: "Support to New Leadership"]

[Text] Pristina, 9 Feb—Certainly, Kosovo absurdities and contradictions had to reach the stage at which they are now. On the one side, protest gatherings of ethnic Albanian workers have been held or are being held in places where they have not been held before or have been

postponed, something which aggravates the already difficult situation. On the other side, however, Presidiums of action conferences and regional LC conferences, as well as of LC conferences in various bodies and institutions throughout the province are holding sessions today in order to calm down the heated situation as much as possible.

At the former, the single-nationality meetings, people demand the explanation of many "unclear" political questions about constitutional changes. For instance, they demand that some assessments made at the 17th and 20th sessions of the LCY Central Committee be revised, that Azem Vlasi remain in the LCY Central Committee, that some assessments of the LCY and the LC Central Committee of Serbia pertaining to November protests staged by Albanians be reexamined, and that the session of the provincial LC Committee which is to assess these events be postponed. All in all, they voice their disagreement with many party conclusions and try to use the method of pressure in order to prevent them from being implemented. A phenomenon following all these meetings is that the participants demand that the highest party officials of the country and of Serbia should come to talk to them.

The other meetings were an idea of the newly elected provincial leadership, which has decided to start a counteroffensive, which should include all LC members and involve communists of all nationalities. They express support for assessments, stances, and appeals issued by the provincial committee Presidium of the LC of Kosovo and the Kosovo Presidency, which point to the harm done by single-nationality protest gatherings of ethnic Albanian workers and by work stoppages. At the same time, they extend full support to the newly elected leadership of the LC of Kosovo and particularly to Rahman Morina's speeches at the sessions of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and the LCY Central Committee, as well as when he addressed Trepca miners at the Stari Trg and Zvecan mines. Full support is also extended to the action program of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee which, it is said, should be the pivot on which people should unite in order to solve joint problems.

Vojvodina Journalists Reject 'Allegations'

LD1402013689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1724 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Vojvodina Journalists' Association (DNV) energetically rejects all allegations of "the group of Vojvodina journalists" which says that the DNV Presidium "was the right hand of Bosko Krunic and other proponents of excessive autonomy for Vojvodina and conspired to hush things up, cause intimidation, and excommunicate objectionable journalists; and tried with all its might to smash and divide the Serbian journalists' organization into three parts in order to play each off against the other."

This was the key stance adopted at today's DNV Presidium session, which stated that the Presidium "has been surprised by the unprecedented method of discrediting—labeling and insulting—in a way devoid of all reasoned arguments, even by the making of accusations in front of the Yugoslav public, before the issues were addressed to the DNV Presidium." The Presidium today rejected the untenable thesis in the "bill of indictment" that, allegedly, the DNV influenced the method of and developments in the dissemination of information in the province and determined everything in the publishing houses in accordance with its tastes and standards. They stressed that it is a matter for the publishing houses themselves and their social councils to determine what kind of editorial policy they conduct. [passage omitted]

The DNV Presidium today was informed about the findings of a working group investigating the events in the Titov Vrbas Information Center, where a group of 9 journalists has been on strike for about 20 days. It was concluded that the strike is in fact the result of dislocated self-management and personal relations, the inseparable authority of the editorial board and the self-managing organs of the center, and the evaluation of the journalists' work.

Bulc Leads Sinigoj in Slovene Elections

AU1602141289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Bulc Leads Elections"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 14 Feb—Up to yesterday, 355 basic candidacy conferences extended their support to the Slovene candidates for the members of the SFRY Presidency. Marko Bulc was supported in 302 conferences, Dusan Sinigoj in 134, Janez Drnovsek in 114, Tomaz Kalin in 51, Gojko Stanic in 45, and Vinko Vasle in 23 conferences. During the discussions it was said that Vinko Vasle's stepping down and reappearing as candidate was seen by the public as a farce.

Slovene Delegates Adopt Report on Jansa Trial

AU1502091389 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 11 Feb 89 p 31

[Article by Matevz Krivic of Medvode in the "We Have Received" Column: "What the Group of Delegates for the Ljubljana Trial Will Propose to the Assembly"]

[Text] The group of delegates investigating the circumstances and consequences of the Ljubljana Military Court trial (of Jansa, Borstner, Zavrl, and Tasic) at its session this Monday adopted the text of the report on its work and its findings so far, and the report has been delivered to the groups of delegates in the communes and delegate districts. These groups will discuss the report for the most part by the end of next week, which is to say a few days before the assembly session on 22 February, adopt their position, and select from among their members (in Slovenia, they number about 2,300

people) the 68 delegates to the Chamber of Communes and the 150 delegates to the Associated Labor Chamber. The Sociopolitical Chamber of the republican assembly numbers 50 permanent delegates from the leaderships of the SAWP, the LC, the Slovene Trade Union Federation, the Veterans Federation, and the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation. These 268 people will decide on 22 February whether the Slovene Assembly will confirm the findings of its group of delegates that the disputed military order was illegal, and adopt these findings as its own. The fate of the four convicted at the Ljubljana Military Court trial may of course depend a great deal on this outcome.

Should the Assessment of the Order Remain Secret?

The part of the said report that contains an assessment of the disputed order has been classified as strictly confidential. Some of us in the group were of the opinion that we should have separated the quotation of points 5 and 6 of the order from the assessment, and classified only these points as strictly confidential, and that all the rest should be discussed publicly. However, the majority were of the opinion that even the quotations of single words and collocations from the disputed order should remain secret, although they do not disclose any military data (about units, armaments etc.). It is only a matter of expressions that show more clearly what our group told the public in its statement of 18 November last year, to the effect that the order instructs lower commands "to register and analyze certain events in society outside the military units and facilities." The order and our assessment of the order indicate these "certain events" more clearly by using some significant terms, and these terms are all a supposedly "strictly confidential military secret," in addition to some similar wordings in the text of points 5 and 6 in general. But, as I have said, the text could easily have been excluded from the public discussion. It is only because of these few expressions that our entire report with all the arguments has not been published, and it is only for that reason that the position of Slovenia on this matter will be decided by 268 people on the basis of preceding discussions among some 2,500 people (before he decides, every delegate should thus obtain the opinion of about 10 other people).

And all the others? They can certainly require that their delegates, at their 22 February session, certainly vote for the publication of our assessment of the constitutionality and legality of the military order. Regardless of the final assessment by the republican assembly of whether, in its opinion (which of course is not legally binding for the Yugoslav People's Army), the Army may politically assess "certain events" in society, it should be publicly stated what sort of events these are. This cannot be any military secret, and publication is the only way for the people's representatives (the delegates) to fulfill their (at least moral) responsibility to the people that they represent for any decision that they may make.

The Sense of "First Assessments on Sovereignty Not Being Endangered" in the Present Assessment of the Order

In its introduction to the assessment of the order, the report summarizes the first public statement by the group of delegates, dated 10 November 1988, and includes the sentence that "the first assessments show that the Slovene people and its sovereignty have not been endangered." I would now add: At least not to the extent that a majority of our public thought, until our group, and subsequently Ivan Borstner in MLADINA, more clearly explained what the matter was, but perhaps in the sense of an illegal intervention by the Army—although in this case perhaps insignificant and not dangerous in itself—in the sphere of the powers or sovereignty of the civilian authorities, not only in Slovenia but in Yugoslavia as a whole.

Because the group as a group has not directly dealt with this question since 10 November—when it expressed the said "first assessments" regarding the content of the disputed order—some of us members objected to these "first assessments" being repeated in our report after 3 months of work, without our confronting these assessments with the results of this work in assessing the constitutionality and legality of the order, which of course we lacked when we made those "first assessments." Because this had not been done, three members of a group have drafted a separate opinion, in which they have briefly pointed out the fact that the group will have to tackle this question. The DELO report on the Monday session of our group is unclear on this point, and it can be interpreted to mean that the group accepted these "first assessments on sovereignty not being endangered" at its last session, and did not just include it as information in the report on its work, repeating the assessment of its second session, which was not final.

What Will the Assembly Conclude?

At its last session the group of delegates intended to draft its proposal of "findings, stances, and conclusions" for the 22 February session of the republican assembly. This proposal was supposed to be attached to the report on the work and the findings of the group, so that all the delegates' groups in the communes could thus make up their minds on these proposals in good time and give their delegates appropriate directions, if possible on the basis of the stances and suggestions from the delegate "grassroots" at large, because this proposal will not be "strictly confidential." Unfortunately, time ran short at the last session of our group; therefore we will make a decision on 14 February, only a week before the assembly session.

I therefore decided to publish here my proposal for these assembly stances at the 22 February session, thus enabling the delegate grassroots at large to directly convey to their delegates or to the republican assembly

their agreement or disagreement on this proposal at least (being unable to do so about the assessment of the order), or stimulating them to come up with different proposals. My proposal reads:

On the basis of the discussion at the sessions of the three chambers on 22 February 1989, the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia:

1. adopts the report by the group of delegates on the work of the group so far;

2. asks the assembly Presidium to provide more professional assistance to the group to enable it to speed up its work; all the republican administration organs that would be required to render such assistance by the assembly Presidium are obliged to do so;

3. fully supports the assessment of the constitutionality and legality of the order by the commander of the Ljubljana Military Region No 5044-3 of 8 January 1988, as adopted by the group of delegates;

4. because of the importance of the questions dealt with in this assessment, appeals to all the respective federal organs and the entire Yugoslav public to examine these questions more profoundly, without labeling and advance disqualifications, so as to ensure a consistent respect for the constitutionality and legality in this field, and to make possible the further progress of socialist democracy;

5. in order to enable a public discussion of these important questions, asks the assembly Presidium to publish the assessment by the group of delegates of the constitutionality and legality of the disputed order, from which it should omit all the direct quotations from points 5 and 6 of the order (Assessment of the Order, point 3, paragraph 3);

6. notes that the four convicted persons were not accused of passing the disputed photocopy to any other persons, and that therefore they did not cause any actual damage to the interests of the state and the security of the Yugoslav People's Army, but at most "an abstract danger";

7. on the basis of these and other facts known to the public, expresses the opinion that the four convicted at the Ljubljana Military Court trial last year were not acting out of any treasonable, espionage, or any other hostile motives, but above all from motives to defend the democratic constitutional system;

8. calls for a stop to branding the four convicted persons, in a prohibited and punishable way, as traitors and spies and for a stop to the campaign against the democratic public and the highest organs of the SR of Slovenia that, for the above-mentioned reasons, show some understanding for the acts of the four convicted persons—which do not constitute criminal acts—and for the efforts to comprehensively elucidate all the circumstances of the trial and ensure full respect for constitutionality and legality;

9. notes that the acts which led to the trial—although some of them are indubitably punishable acts—never theless made possible a public discussion of very important problems which could have otherwise remained long hidden to the public and even to the highest organs of the authorities and to the political leaderships;

10. expresses understanding for the decision by Warrant Officer Ivan Borstner to acquaint the political leadership of Slovenia with the content of the disputed order, but not with the method which he used, whereby he committed a punishable act, particularly since, apart from the portions that are disputable from the point of view of constitutionality and legality, the order also contains some undisputably confidential military information;

11. in case the Federal Court fails to meet the requests of the convicted persons, appeals to the SFRY Presidency to pardon all four convicted persons on the basis of all that has been said above;

12. expresses the conviction that, for the said reasons, a pardon would meet with a positive response among the democratic Yugoslav public and would be accepted as an act of humanity and political wisdom.

Christmas Favored as Nonworking Day in Slovenia

AU1402172789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Feb 89 p 13

[TANJUG report: "Christmas as Nonworking Day in Slovenia"]

[Text] Pula, 12 Feb—The Slovene SAWP will propose that 25 December, "the Christmas, family, and cultural holidays in Slovenia," be pronounced a nonworking day. This was stated by Joze Smole, president of the republican conference of the Slovene SAWP, in his conversation with youth activists from the Pula commune at a seminar in Medulin.

According to Smole, 25 December should be a nonworking day, and every citizen should be allowed to celebrate it his own way. The current practice, Smole said, has not been good because it has led to divisions in schools in the sense that some students were present and others absent from school.

Montenegrin Assembly Postpones Elections

AU1502195089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] The delegates of all three chambers of the Montenegrin Assembly today unanimously agreed to postpone the election of six members of the new Presidency

because the same number of candidates has been nominated. It was said that such incomplete lists are no longer valid and they must be expanded. Here is a report by Jagos Stojanovic in Titograd:

Delegates have sent a demand to the federal organs to speed up the process of coordinating systemic laws. Montenegro is already losing more than 300 billion dinars because of the delayed payment of foreign exchange differences.

The Montenegrin Assembly delegates today adopted a report by the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs on the security situation since September, but only as documentary material, because a new special assembly commission has been set up to give a full report on Zuta Greda, the introduction of emergency measures in Titograd, and the occurrences and elimination of nationalism of all kinds, on the basis of an insight into all reports by the service for state and public security.

Otherwise, the Secretariat for Internal Affairs announced today that it has never used the phrase militant groups, and that the service has the same attitude toward the protest meetings as it has toward the process of broad social democratization.

Assumes Presidency in Interim

LD1602093689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2006 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Titograd, 15 Feb (TANJUG)—The constitutional and legal duties of the SR of Montengro Presidency will be performed by the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Assembly of this republic, pending the election of a new Presidency.

This was decided today by delegates of all three chambers of the Montenegrin Assembly after they refused to elect a new Presidency because there were only six names on the list of candidates—in other words, exactly the same number as are to be elected as members of the Presidency.

Zenica Organizations Support Workers' Demands

AU1502173089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] The workers council and the sociopolitical organizations of the iron and steel works in Zenica have supported the justified demands of the first and second brigades of the steel mill for an improvement in the material position of workers. Physical force against the workers in the steel mill was also condemned.

The management council and the Committee for All-Peoples Defense and Social Self-Defense of the Zenica steel works have called on all workers to continue to have a responsible attitude toward their work and tasks and to not allow themselves to be manipulated by individuals.

Stressing that the production plan in the steel works has so far been exceeded by 3 percent, the steel works' management assessed that this has been achieved above all because of the great efforts of the majority of workers. It also particularly pointed out the efforts of the Siemens-Martin steel mill workers, who managed to hold their position even though they were constantly being disrupted by a group which was (?demanding) that production be stopped.

Sarajevo Foundry Workers Continue Strike

AU1402140289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Sarajevo—Because of the number of people taking part in it and its length, the 5-day strike by 1,000 foundry workers in the Foundry Basic Organization of Associated Labor of the Sarajevo Energoinvest organization is among the strikes having the largest number of work hours lost in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Among other things, the foundry workers are demanding a 26-percent increase in the value of each point they earn, the replacement of the leadership apart from the director, a radical reduction of overhead, and a reexamination of some events in the foundry, such as the causes of the fire in the financial director's office.

The leadership of the Republican Trade Unions yesterday supported the foundry workers and criticized factory trade unions officials for not supporting the workers.

Government Spokesman Addresses Human Rights

AU1402131889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 89 p 9

[Zoran Mandzuka report: "No Complexes About Human Rights"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 Feb—Today's meeting of the spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs with journalists was a little shorter than usual, but the answers were as substantial as always. Here are some of them:

Yugoslavia and Rights

When asked whether he could say something about the parts of the U.S. State Department's annual report on human rights in the world which mention Yugoslavia, Ivo Vajgl said the following: "I am familiar only with part of the report and, therefore, I am not yet ready to comment on it. However, on the basis of my first impression from reading parts of the report, I can say that this is an American view which may contain some already known views, but which also may express a certain evolution in observing and comprehending these problems in our country."

I do not feel obliged to comment any further, the spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs said. Nevertheless, he added the following: "It is well

known that the concept of human rights in our country cannot be confined just to the categories and indicators which are usual in the West. Yugoslavia does not have any complexes in this respect, and has something to say about it, but I do not want embark on that kind of debate now. I can say that this topic is also very present in the Yugoslav parliament and that today it is holding one in a series of debates on human rights. I only want to say that the problem of human rights is present in our country both on the domestic scene and in our relations with foreign partners. If somebody needs proof, let me remind you of the section on human rights in the Yugoslav-Soviet declaration signed during Gorbachev's visit to our country last year." [passage omitted]

New Laws Adopted by Assembly Federal Chamber

Law on Banks

LD1602094789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1623 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Feb (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Assembly's Federal Chamber today adopted a law on banks and other financial organizations which specifies a completely new role for banks in the conditions of market-oriented business operations. These banks will become independent financial organizations operating on the principles of liquidity, efficiency, and profitability.

The Law on Banks is part of a package of systemic regulations which will create the formal conditions for market-oriented business operations. Banks and other financial organizations will be required to harmonize their affairs with the letter of these regulations within 2 years.

Financial Management Law

LD1602095489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1727 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Feb (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Assembly's Federal Chamber today unanimously adopted the Law on Financial Management, which tightens up monetary affairs, but also opens up new opportunities for raising funds.

Organizations, according to this new law, have the right to raise money against backers' investments by issuing bonds and securities and on the basis of foreign and domestic investors' loans.

Money can also be raised through targeted subsidies, voluntary financial contributions, and the relinquishing of taxes and contributions. Since this introduces the possibility of setting up shareholders' companies, participation in such an enterprise will be secured by bonds and securities as company members' shares. In a private enterprise, a share in assets will be considered private capital.

Army Papers Printed in Latin, Cyrillic Scripts

AU1402143389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 89 p 13

[B.S. report: "Novelty in NARODNA ARMIJA: Latin and Cyrillic Script"]

[Text] Starting with today's issue, readers of NARODNA ARMIJA will be able to read articles in Cyrillic script as well as Latin.

If the appearance of the newspaper in Slovene and Macedonian for the last Army Day were interpreted as an expression of equality of language, this is a step toward attaining a larger readership. Colonel Dusan Pejanovic, deputy head of the military publishing and newspaper center in charge of newspapers, gave assurances of this:

"This move by NARODNA ARMIJA and FRONT could have been expected considering the readers these newspapers are meant for. This is only a continuation of the efforts that have been made so far, because the Yugoslav People's Army has been devoting special attention to the question of language."

When we arrived at the military publishing and newspaper center to receive this information, we noticed that its name was written at the entrance in our three languages and both scripts.

[Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian on 9 February appears with some pages printed in Latin and others in Cyrillic script]

TV Stations To Launch 'Assembly Chronicle'

AU1502093289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 89 p 14

[Report by Ljubljana Television journalist Vlado Krajac: "As of Tonight, the Assembly Will Be in Your Own Home Every Friday Night]

[Text] At a time when satellites are covering our entire globe and enabling billions of people to receive television signals from every place on our planet, Yugoslav radio and television have managed to agree on at least one "trans-Yugoslav" program. The "Assembly Chronicle" will be broadcast by all our television stations as of this evening.

Although there was no official editorial board in charge of preparing this program, "victims" have been found: The job was done by regular SFRY Assembly reporters (I have the impression that we found it much easier to agree about cooperation and work than our editors and chiefs would have).

The point of the program is to build on daily reports from the SFRY Assembly, that is, to add seasoning to what we report every day, because often we do not have enough time to present different views on one thing. This project will be open to journalists from all media.

In this first chronicle, a special BORBA item will be presented by Dragoljub Zarkovic. There will also be reports on assembly assessments of the Kosovo situation, on work and decisionmaking during the period "between the two governments," and on why debate on taxation is being delayed. Food subsidies will also be mentioned. We also "followed the trail of delegates' questions," and in order to show our viewers that this is not an easy job we shall present an example of the electric power issue—which involves those famous tariffs—and the assessment the Constitutional Court made. The only person who would agree to speak on this topic was Pavel Dolenc, former federal market inspector.

I honestly hope that this "trans-Yugoslav project" will help consolidate our joint Yugoslav information arena. It is high time it was.

Customs Officials Seize Heroin at Greek Border

LD1402231289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2137 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Djevdjelija, 14 Feb (TANJUG)—Customs officers have seized 18.7 kg of heroin at the Yugoslav-Greek border crossing point near Bogorodica. The drugs were discovered in a car belonging to two young Italians, Piero Pistrevela and Giuseppe Palieria, when they were attempting to bring them into our country. The dangerous cargo was discovered in special compartments behind the back seat of the car and in the gas tank. Both the Italians have been detained and an investigation has been set in motion in the Djevdjelija municipal court.